149

LECTURES

ON

RHETORIC

AND

BELLES LETTRES.

By HUGH BLAIR, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE HIGH CHURCH, AND
PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES
IN THE UNIVERSITY, OF EDINBURGH.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND;
AND W. CREECH, IN EDINBURGH.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

LECT.		Page
XXV.	*ELOQUENCE, or Public Speaking—History of Eloquence—Grecian Eloquence—Demosthenes.*	1
XXVI.	*History of Eloquence continued—Roman Eloquence—Cicero—Modern Eloquence.* - -	24
XXVII.	*Different Kinds of Public Speaking—Eloquence of Popular Assemblies—Extracts from Demosthenes.*	46
XXVIII.	*Eloquence of the Bar—Analysis of Cicero's Oration for Cluentius.* - - -	74
XXIX.	*Eloquence of the Pulpit.* - -	101
XXX.	*Critical Examination of a Sermon of Bishop Atterbury's.* - - - - -	127
XXXI.	*Conduct of a Discourse in all its Parts—Introduction—Division—Narration and Explication.*	156
XXXII.	*Conduct of a Discourse—The Argumentative Part—The Pathetic Part—The Peroration.* -	188
XXXIII.	*Pronunciation, or Delivery.* - -	203
XXXIV.	*Means of improving in Eloquence.* -	226

 XXXV. *Com-*

CONTENTS.

LECT.		Page
XXXV.	*Comparative Merit of the Ancients and the Moderns—Historical Writing.* - - -	246
XXXVI.	*Historical Writing.* - - -	267
XXXVII.	*Philosophical Writing—Dialogue—Epistolary Writing—Fictitious History.* - -	290
XXXVIII.	*Nature of Poetry—Its Origin and Progress—Versification.* - - -	311
XXXIX.	*Pastoral Poetry—Lyric Poetry.* - -	335
XL.	*Didactic Poetry—Descriptive Poetry.* -	361
XLI.	*The Poetry of the Hebrews.* - -	385
XLII.	*Epic Poetry.* - - -	406
XLIII.	*Homer's Iliad and Odyssey—Virgil's Æneid.*	428
XLIV.	*Lucan's Pharsalia—Tasso's Jerusalem—Camoen's Lusiad—Fenelon's Telemachus—Voltaire's Henriade—Milton's Paradise Lost.* -	451
XLV.	*Dramatic Poetry—Tragedy.* - -	477
XLVI.	*Tragedy—Greek—French—English Tragedy.*	502
XLVII.	*Comedy—Greek and Roman—French—English Comedy.* - - - -	528

LECTURE XXV.

ELOQUENCE, OR PUBLIC SPEAKING.—HISTORY OF ELOQUENCE—GRECIAN ELOQUENCE.—DEMOSTHENES.

HAVING finished that part of the Course which relates to Language and Style, we are now to ascend a step higher, and to examine the subjects upon which Style is employed. I begin with what is properly called Eloquence, or Public Speaking. In treating of this, I am to consider the different kinds and subjects of Public Speaking; the manner suited to each; the proper distribution and management of all the parts of a discourse; and the proper pronunciation or delivery of it. But before entering on any of these heads, it may be proper to take a view of the nature of Eloquence in general, and of the state in which it has subsisted in different ages and countries. This will lead into some detail; but I hope an useful one; as in every art it is of great consequence to have a just

LECT. XXV. idea of the perfection of the art, of the end at which it aims, and of the progress which it has made among mankind.

Of Eloquence, in particular, it is the more necessary to ascertain the proper notion, because there is not any thing concerning which false notions have been more prevalent. Hence, it has been so often, and is still at this day, in disrepute with many. When you speak to a plain man of Eloquence, or in praise of it, he is apt to hear you with very little attention. He conceives Eloquence to signify a certain trick of Speech; the art of varnishing weak arguments plausibly; or of speaking so as to please and tickle the ear. "Give me good sense," says he, "and keep your Eloquence for boys." He is in the right, if Eloquence were what he conceives it to be. It would be then a very contemptible art indeed, below the study of any wise or good man. But nothing can be more remote from truth. To be truly eloquent, is to speak to the purpose. For the best definition which, I think, can be given of Eloquence, is, the Art of Speaking in such a manner as to attain the end for which we speak. Whenever a man speaks or writes, he is supposed, as a rational being, to have some end in view; either to inform, or to amuse, or to persuade, or, in some way or other, to act upon his fellow-creatures. He who speaks, or writes, in such a manner as to adapt all his words most effectually to that end, is the most eloquent man. Whatever then the subject be, there is room for Eloquence; in history, or even in philosophy, as well as in orations. The definition which I have given of Eloquence, comprehends all the different kinds of it; whether calculated to instruct, to persuade, or to please. But, as the most important subject of discourse is Action, or Conduct, the

power of Eloquence chiefly appears when it is employed to influence Conduct, and perſuade to Action. As it is principally, with reference to this end, that it becomes the object of Art, Eloquence may, under this view of it, be defined, The Art of Perſuaſion.

THIS being once eſtabliſhed, certain conſequences immediately follow, which point out the fundamental maxims of the Art. It follows clearly, that, in order to perſuade, the moſt eſſential requiſites are, ſolid argument, clear method, a character of probity appearing in the Speaker, joined with ſuch graces of Style and utterance, as ſhall draw our attention to what he ſays. Good ſenſe is the foundation of all. No man can be truly eloquent without it; for fools can perſuade none but fools. In order to perſuade a man of ſenſe, you muſt firſt convince him; which is only to be done, by ſatisfying his underſtanding of the reaſonableneſs of what you propoſe to him.

THIS leads me to obſerve, that convincing and perſuading, though they are ſometimes confounded, import, notwithſtanding, different things, which it is neceſſary for us, at preſent, to diſtinguiſh from each other. Conviction affects the underſtanding only; perſuaſion, the will and the practice. It is the buſineſs of the philoſopher to convince me of truth; it is the buſineſs of the orator to perſuade me to act agreeably to it, by engaging my affections on its ſide. Conviction, and perſuaſion, do not always go together. They *ought*, indeed, to go together; and *would* do ſo, if our inclination regularly followed the dictates of our underſtanding. But as our nature is conſtituted, I may be convinced, that virtue, juſtice, or public

LECT. XXV.

ſpirit, are laudable, while, at the ſame time, I am not perſuaded to act according to them. The inclination may revolt, though the underſtanding be ſatisfied: the paſſions may prevail againſt the judgment. Conviction is, however, always one avenue to the inclination, or heart; and it is that which an Orator muſt firſt bend his ſtrength to gain: for no perſuaſion is likely to be ſtable, which is not founded on conviction. But, in order to perſuade, the Orator muſt go farther than merely producing conviction; he muſt conſider man as a creature moved by many different ſprings, and muſt act upon them all. He muſt addreſs himſelf to the paſſions; he muſt paint to the fancy, and touch the heart; and, hence, beſides ſolid argument, and clear method, all the conciliating and intereſting arts, both of Compoſition and Pronunciation, enter into the idea of Eloquence.

An objection may, perhaps, hence be formed againſt Eloquence; as an Art which may be employed for perſuading to ill, as well as to good. There is no doubt that it may; and ſo reaſoning may alſo be, and too often is employed, for leading men into error. But who would think of forming an argument from this againſt the cultivation of our reaſoning powers? Reaſon, Eloquence, and every Art which ever has been ſtudied among mankind, may be abuſed, and may prove dangerous in the hands of bad men; but it were perfectly childiſh to contend, that, upon this account, they ought to be abrogated. Give truth and virtue the ſame arms which you give vice and falſehood, and the former are likely to prevail. Eloquence is no invention of the ſchools. Nature teaches every man to be eloquent, when he is much in earneſt. Place him in ſome

critical situation; let him have some great interest at stake, and you will see him lay hold of the most effectual means of persuasion. The Art of Oratory proposes nothing more than to follow out that track which Nature has first pointed out to men. And the more exactly that this track is pursued, the more that Eloquence is properly studied, the more shall we be guarded against the abuse which bad men make of it, and enabled the better to distinguish between true Eloquence and the tricks of Sophistry.

We may distinguish three kinds, or degrees of Eloquence. The first, and lowest, is that which aims only at pleasing the hearers. Such, generally, is the Eloquence of panegyricks, inaugural orations, addresses to great men, and other harangues of this sort. This ornamental sort of composition is not altogether to be rejected. It may innocently amuse and entertain the mind; and it may be mixed, at the same time, with very useful sentiments. But it must be confessed, that where the Speaker has no farther aim than merely to shine and to please, there is great danger of Art being strained into ostentation, and of the composition becoming tiresome and languid.

A second and a higher degree of Eloquence is, when the Speaker aims not merely to please, but also to inform, to instruct, to convince: when his Art is exerted, in removing prejudices against himself and his cause, in chusing the most proper arguments, stating them with the greatest force, arranging them in the best order, expressing and delivering them with propriety and beauty; and thereby disposing us to pass that judgment, or embrace that side of the cause, to which he seeks

LECT. XXV. to bring us. Within this compass, chiefly, is employed the Eloquence of the bar.

But there is a third, and still higher degree of Eloquence, wherein a greater power is exerted over the human mind; by which we are not only convinced, but are interested, agitated, and carried along with the Speaker; our passions are made to rise together with his; we enter into all his emotions; we love, we detest, we resent, according as he inspires us; and are prompted to resolve, or to act, with vigour and warmth. Debate, in popular assemblies, opens the most illustrious field to this species of Eloquence; and the pulpit, also, admits it.

I am here to observe, and the observation is of consequence, that the high Eloquence which I have last mentioned, is always the offspring of passion. By passion, I mean that state of the mind in which it is agitated, and fired, by some object it has in view. A man may convince, and even persuade others to act, by mere reason and argument. But that degree of Eloquence which gains the admiration of mankind, and properly denominates one an Orator, is never found without warmth, or passion. Passion, when in such a degree as to rouse and kindle the mind, without throwing it out of the possession of itself, is universally found to exalt all the human powers. It renders the mind infinitely more enlightened, more penetrating, more vigorous and masterly, than it is in its calm moments. A man, actuated by a strong passion, becomes much greater than he is at other times. He is conscious of more strength and force; he utters greater sentiments, conceives higher designs, and executes them with a boldness and a felicity, of which, on

other

other occasions, he could not think himself capable. But chiefly, with respect to persuasion, is the power of passion felt. Almost every man, in passion, is eloquent. Then, he is at no loss for words and arguments. He transmits to others, by a sort of contagious sympathy, the warm sentiments which he feels; his looks and gestures are all persuasive; and Nature here shows herself infinitely more powerful than all art. This is the foundation of that just and noted rule: "Si vis me flere, dolendum "est primum ipsi tibi."

This principle being once admitted, that all high Eloquence flows from passion, several consequences follow, which deserve to be attended to; and the mention of which will serve to confirm the principle itself. For hence, the universally acknowledged effect of enthusiasm, or warmth of any kind, in public Speakers, for affecting their audience. Hence all laboured declamation, and affected ornaments of Style, which shew the mind to be cool and unmoved, are so inconsistent with persuasive Eloquence. Hence all studied prettinesses, in gesture or pronunciation, detract so greatly from the weight of a Speaker. Hence a discourse that is read, moves us less than one that is spoken, as having less the appearance of coming warm from the heart. Hence, to call a man cold, is the same thing as to say, that he is not eloquent. Hence a sceptical man, who is always in suspense, and feels nothing strongly; or a cunning mercenary man, who is suspected rather to assume the appearance of passion than to feel it; have so little power over men in Public Speaking. Hence, in fine, the necessity of being, and being believed to be, disinterested, and in earnest, in order to persuade.

These are ſome of the capital ideas which have occured to me, concerning Eloquence in general; and with which I have thought proper to begin, as the foundation of much of what I am afterwards to ſuggeſt. From what I have already ſaid, it is evident that Eloquence is a high talent, and of great importance in ſociety; and that it requires both natural genius, and much improvement from Art. Viewed as the Art of Perſuaſion, it requires, in its loweſt ſtate, ſoundneſs of underſtanding, and conſiderable acquaintance with human nature; and, in its higher degrees, it requires, moreover, ſtrong ſenſibility of mind, a warm and lively imagination, joined with correctneſs of judgment, and an extenſive command of the power of Language; to which muſt alſo be added, the graces of Pronunciation and Delivery.—Let us next proceed, to conſider in what ſtate Eloquence has ſubſiſted in different ages and nations.

It is an obſervation made by ſeveral writers, that Eloquence is to be looked for only in free ſtates. Longinus, in particular, at the end of his treatiſe on the Sublime, when aſſigning the reaſon why ſo little ſublimity of genius appeared in the age wherein he lived, illuſtrates this obſervation with a great deal of beauty. Liberty, he remarks, is the nurſe of true genius; it animates the ſpirit, and invigorates the hopes of men; excites honourable emulation, and a deſire of excelling in every Art. All other qualifications, he ſays, you may find among thoſe who are deprived of liberty; but never did a ſlave become an orator; he can only be a pompous flatterer. Now, though this reaſoning be, in the main, true; it muſt, however, be underſtood with ſome limitations. For, under arbitrary governments, if they be of the civiliſed kind, and give en-

couragement

couragement to the arts, ornamental Eloquence may flourish remarkably. Witness France at this day, where, ever since the reign of Louis XIV., more of what may justly be called Eloquence, within a certain sphere, is to be found, than, perhaps, in any other nation of Europe; though freedom be enjoyed by some of them in a much greater degree. Their sermons, and orations pronounced on public occasions, are not only polite and elegant harangues, but several of them are uncommonly spirited, animated with bold figures, and rise to a degree of the Sublime. Their Eloquence, however, in general, must be confessed to be of the flowery, rather than the vigorous kind; calculated more to please and soothe, than to convince and persuade. High, manly, and forcible Eloquence is, indeed, to be looked for only, or chiefly, in the regions of freedom. Under arbitrary governments, besides the general turn of softness and effeminacy which such governments may be justly supposed to give to the spirit of a nation, the art of speaking cannot be such an instrument of ambition, business, and power, as it is in more democratical states. It is confined within a narrower range; it can be exerted only in the pulpit, or at the bar; but is excluded from those great scenes of public business, where the spirits of men have the freest play; where important affairs are transacted, and persuasion, of course, is more seriously studied. Wherever man can acquire most power over man by means of reason and discourse, which certainly is under a free state of government, there we may naturally expect that true Eloquence will be best understood, and carried to the greatest height.

Hence, in tracing the riſe of Oratory, we need not attempt to go far back into the early ages of the world, or ſearch for it among the monuments of Eaſtern or Egyptian antiquity. In thoſe ages, there was, indeed, an Eloquence of a certain kind; but it approached nearer to Poetry, than to what we properly call Oratory. There is reaſon to believe, as I formerly ſhowed, that the Language of the firſt ages was paſſionate and metaphorical; owing partly to the ſcanty ſtock of words, of which Speech then conſiſted; and partly to the tincture which Language naturally takes from the ſavage and uncultivated ſtate of men, agitated by unreſtrained paſſions, and ſtruck by events, which to them are ſtrange and ſurpriſing. In this ſtate, rapture and enthuſiaſm, the parents of Poetry, had an ample field. But while the intercourſe of men was as yet unfrequent, and force and ſtrength were the chief means employed in deciding controverſies, the arts of Oratory and Perſuaſion, of Reaſoning and Debate, could be but little known. The firſt empires that aroſe, the Aſſyrian and Egyptian, were of the deſpotic kind. The whole power was in the hands of one, or at moſt of a few. The multitude were accuſtomed to a blind reverence: they were led, not perſuaded; and none of thoſe refinements of ſociety, which make public ſpeaking an object of importance, were as yet introduced.

It is not till the riſe of the Grecian Republics, that we find any remarkable appearances of Eloquence as the art of perſuaſion; and theſe gave it ſuch a field as it never had before, and, perhaps, has never had again ſince that time. And, therefore, as the Grecian Eloquence has ever been the object of admira-

tion to those who have ftudied the powers of Speech, it is neceffary, that we fix our attention, for a little, on this period.

Greece was divided into a multitude of petty ftates. Thefe were governed, at firft, by kings who were called Tyrants, and who being, in fucceffion, expelled from all thefe ftates, there fprung up a great number of democratical governments, founded nearly on the fame plan, animated by the fame high fpirit of freedom, mutually jealous, and rivals of each other. We may compute the flourifhing period of thofe Grecian ftates, to have lafted from the battle of Marathon, till the time of Alexander the Great, who fubdued the liberties of Greece; a period which comprehends about 150 years, and within which are to be found moft of their celebrated poets and philofophers, but chiefly their Orators: for though poetry and philofophy were not extinct among them after that period, yet Eloquence hardly made any figure.

Of thefe Grecian Republics, the moft noted, by far, for Eloquence, and, indeed, for arts of every kind, was that of Athens. The Athenians were an ingenious, quick, fprightly people; practifed in bufinefs, and fharpened by frequent and fudden revolutions, which happened in their government. The genius of their government was entirely democratical; their legiflature confifted of the whole body of the people. They had, indeed, a Senate of five hundred; but in the general convention of the citizens was placed the laft refort; and affairs were conducted there, altogether, by reafoning, fpeaking, and a fkilful application to the paffions and interefts of a popular affembly. There, laws were made, peace and war decreed,

LECT. XXV.

and thence the magiſtrates were choſen. For the higheſt honours of the ſtate were alike open to all; nor was the meaneſt tradeſman excluded from a ſeat in their ſupreme courts. In ſuch a ſtate, Eloquence, it is obvious, would be much ſtudied, as the ſureſt means of riſing to influence and power; and what ſort of Eloquence? Not that which was brilliant merely, and ſhowy, but that which was found, upon trial, to be moſt effectual for convincing, intereſting, and perſuading the hearers. For there, public ſpeaking was not a mere competition for empty applauſe, but a ſerious contention for that public leading, which was the great object both of the men of ambition, and the men of virtue.

Among a nation ſo enlightened and acute, and where the higheſt attention was paid to every thing elegant in the arts, we may naturally expect to find the public taſte refined and judicious. Accordingly, it was improved to ſuch a degree, that the Attic taſte and Attic manner have paſſed into a proverb. It is true, that ambitious demagogues, and corrupt orators, did ſometimes dazzle and miſlead the people, by a ſhowy but falſe Eloquence; for the Athenians, with all their acuteneſs, were factious and giddy, and great admirers of every novelty. But when ſome important intereſt drew their attention, when any great danger rouſed them, and put their judgment to a ſerious trial, they commonly diſtinguiſhed, very juſtly, between genuine and ſpurious Eloquence: and hence Demoſthenes triumphed over all his opponents; becauſe he ſpoke always to the purpoſe, affected no inſignificant parade of words, uſed weighty arguments, and ſhowed them clearly where their intereſt lay. In critical conjunctures of the ſtate, when

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the public was alarmed with ſome preſſing danger, when the people were aſſembled, and proclamation was made by the crier, for any one to riſe and deliver his opinion upon the preſent ſituation of affairs, empty declamation and ſophiſtical reaſoning would not only have been hiſſed, but reſented and puniſhed by an aſſembly ſo intelligent and accuſtomed to buſineſs. Their greateſt Orators trembled on ſuch occaſions, when they roſe to addreſs the people, as they knew they were to be held anſwerable for the iſſue of the counſel which they gave. The moſt liberal endowments of the greateſt princes never could found ſuch a ſchool for true oratory, as was formed by the nature of the Athenian Republic. Eloquence there ſprung, native and vigorous, from amidſt the contentions of faction and freedom, of public buſineſs, and of active life; and not from that retirement and ſpeculation, which we are apt ſometimes to fancy more favourable to Eloquence than they are found to be.

PYSISTRATUS, who was cotemporay with Solon, and ſubverted his plan of government, is mentioned by Plutarch, as the firſt who diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Athenians by application to the Arts of Speech. His ability in theſe arts, he employed for raiſing himſelf to the ſovereign power; which, however, when he had attained, he exerciſed with moderation. Of the Orators who flouriſhed between his time and the Peloponneſian war, no particular mention is made in hiſtory. Pericles, who died about the beginning of that war, was properly the firſt who carried Eloquence to a great height; to ſuch a height indeed, that it does not appear he was ever afterwards ſurpaſſed. He was more than an Orator; he was alſo a Stateſman and a

General;

General; expert in business, and of consummate address. For forty years, he governed Athens with absolute sway; and historians ascribe his influence, not more to his political talents than to his Eloquence, which was of that forcible and vehement kind, that bore every thing before it, and triumphed over the passions and affections of the people. Hence he had the surname of Olympius given him: and it was said, that, like Jupiter, he thundered when he spoke. Though his ambition be liable to censure, yet great virtues certainly he had; and it was the confidence which the people reposed in his integrity, that gave such power to his Eloquence; a circumstance, without which the influence of public speaking in a popular state can seldom go far. He appears to have been generous, magnanimous, and public spirited: he raised no fortune to himself; he expended indeed great sums of the public money, but chiefly on public works; and at his death is said to have valued himself principally on having never obliged any citizen to wear mourning on his account, during his long administration. It is a remarkable particular recorded of Pericles by Suidas, that he was the first Athenian who composed, and put into writing, a discourse designed for the public.

Posterior to Pericles, in the course of the Peloponnesian war, arose Cleon, Alcibiades, Critias, and Theramenes, eminent citizens of Athens, who were all distinguished for their Eloquence. They were not Orators by profession; they were not formed by schools, but by a much more powerful education, that of business and debate; where man sharpened man, and civil affairs carried on by public speaking, called forth every exertion of the mind. The manner or style of Oratory which

then prevailed, we learn from the Orations in the history of Thucydides, who also flourished in the same age. It was manly, vehement, and concise, even to some degree of obscurity. "Grandes erant verbis," says Cicero, "crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et, ob eam ipsam causam, interdum subobscuri *." A manner very different from what in modern times we would conceive to be the Style of popular Oratory; and which tends to give a high idea of the acuteness of those audiences to which they spoke.

The power of Eloquence having, after the days of Pericles, become an object of greater consequence than ever, this gave birth to a set of men till then unknown, called Rhetoricians, and sometimes Sophists, who arose in multitudes during the Peloponnesian war; such as Protagoras, Prodicas, Thrasymus, and one who was more eminent than all the rest, Gorgias of Leontium. These Sophists joined to their art of rhetoric a subtile logic, and were generally a sort of metaphysical Sceptics. Gorgias, however, was a professed master of Eloquence only. His reputation was prodigious. He was highly venerated in Leontium of Sicily, his native city; and money was coined with his name upon it. In the latter part of his life, he established himself at Athens, and lived till he had attained the age of 105 years. Hermogenes (de Ideis, l. ii. cap. 9.) has preserved a fragment of his, from which we see his style and manner. It is extremely quaint and artificial; full of antithesis and pointed expression; and shows how far the Grecian subtilty had already carried the study of

* "They were magnificent in their expressions; they abounded in thought; they compressed their matter into few words, and, by their brevity, were sometimes obscure."

language.

SECT. XXV.

language. These Rhetoricians did not content themselves with delivering general instructions concerning Eloquence to their pupils, and endeavouring to form their taste; but they professed the art of giving them receipts for making all sorts of Orations; and of teaching them how to speak for, and against, every cause whatever. Upon this plan, they were the first who treated of common places, and the artificial invention of arguments and topics for every subject. In the hands of such men, we may easily believe that Oratory would degenerate from the masculine strain it had hitherto held, and become a trifling and sophistical art: and we may justly deem them the first corrupters of true Eloquence. To them, the great Socrates opposed himself. By a profound, but simple reasoning peculiar to himself, he exploded their sophistry; and endeavoured to recal men's attention from that abuse of reasoning and discourse which began to be in vogue, to natural language, and sound and useful thought.

In the same age, though somewhat later than the philosopher above-mentioned, flourished Isocrates, whose writings are still extant. He was a professed Rhetorician, and by teaching Eloquence, he acquired both a great fortune, and higher fame than any of his rivals in that profession. No contemptible Orator he was. His orations are full of morality and good sentiments: they are flowing and smooth; but too destitute of vigour. He never engaged in public affairs, nor pleaded causes; and accordingly his orations are calculated only for the shade: "Pompae," Cicero allows, "magis quam pugnæ aptior; ad voluptatem aurium accommodatus potius quam ad judiciorum certamen."

"tents*." The Style of Gorgias of Leontium was formed into short sentences, composed generally of two members balanced against each other. The Style of Isocrates, on the contrary, is swelling and full; and he is said to be the first who introduced the method of composing in regular periods, which had a studied music and harmonious cadence; a manner which he has carried to a vicious excess. What shall we think of an orator, who employed ten years in composing one discourse, still extant, entitled the Panegyric? How much frivolous care must have been bestowed on all the minute elegance of words and sentences? Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given us upon the orations of Isocrates, as also upon those of some other Greek orators, a full and regular treatise, which is, in my opinion, one of the most judicious pieces of ancient criticism extant, and very worthy of being consulted. He commends the splendor of Isocrates's Style, and the morality of his sentiments; but severely censures his affectation, and the uniform regular cadence of all his sentences. He holds him to be a florid declaimer; not a natural persuasive speaker. Cicero, in his critical works, though he admits his failings, yet discovers a propensity to be very favourable to that "plena ac numerosa oratio," that swelling and musical style, which Isocrates introduced; and with the love of which, Cicero himself was, perhaps, somewhat infected. In one of his Treatises (Orat. ad M. Brut.) he informs us, that his friend Brutus and he differed in this particular, and that Brutus found fault with his partiality to Isocrates. The manner of Isocrates generally catches young people, when they

* "More fitted for show than for debate; better calculated for the amusement of an audience, than for judicial contests."

LECT. XXV. begin to attend to composition; and it is very natural that it should do so. It gives them an idea of that regularity, cadence, and magnificence of style, which fills the ear: but when they come to write or speak for the world, they will find this ostentatious manner unfit, either for carrying on business, or commanding attention. It is said, that the high reputation of Isocrates prompted Aristotle, who was nearly his cotemporary, or lived but a little after him, to write his institutions of Rhetoric; which are indeed formed upon a plan of Eloquence very different from that of Isocrates, and the Rhetoricians of that time. He seems to have had it in view to direct the attention of orators much more towards convincing and affecting their hearers, than towards the musical cadence of periods.

Isæus and Lysias, some of whose orations are preserved, belong also to this period. Lysias was somewhat earlier than Isocrates, and is the model of that manner which the ancients call the "Tenuis vel Subtilis." He has none of Isocrates's pomp. He is every where pure and attic in the highest degree; simple and unaffected; but wants force, and is sometimes frigid in his compositions *. Isæus is chiefly remarkable for being the master of

* In the judicious comparison, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes of the merits of Lysias and Isocrates, he ascribes to Lysias, as the distinguishing character of his manner, a certain grace or elegance arising from simplicity: "πεφυκε γαρ ἡ Λυσιυ λεξις εχειν το Χαριεν· ἡ δ' Ισοκρατους, βουλεται." "The "style of Lysias has gracefulness for its nature; that of Isocrates seeks to have "it." In the art of narration, as distinct, probable, and persuasive, he holds Lysias to be superior to all Orators: at the same time, he admits that his composition is more adapted to private litigation than to great subjects. He convinces, but he does not elevate nor animate. The magnificence and splendor of Isocrates is more suited to great occasions. He is more agreeable than Lysias;

of the great Demosthenes, in whom, it must be acknowledged, Eloquence shone forth with higher splendor, than perhaps in any that ever bore the name of an orator, and whose manner and character, therefore, must deserve our particular attention.

I SHALL not spend any time upon the circumstances of Demosthenes's life; they are well known. The strong ambition which he discovered to excel in the art of speaking; the unsuccessfulness of his first attempts; his unwearied perseverance in

Lysias; and, in dignity of sentiment, far excels him. With regard to the affectation which is visible in Isocrates's manner, he concludes what he says of it with the following excellent observations, which should never be forgotten by any who aspire to be true Orators. "Τῆς μεντοι ἀγωγῆς των περιοδων το κυκλιον, και των σχηματισμων της λεξεως το μειρακιῶδες, οὐκ ἐδοκιμαζον· δουλευει γαρ ἡ διανοια πολλακις τω ρυθμω της λεξεως, και τα κομψα λειπεται τα ἀληθινα. κρατιστον τ' ἐπιτηδευμα ἐν διαλεκτω πολιτικῃ, και ἐναγωνιω, το ὁμοιοτατον τω κατα φυσιν. βουλεται δε ἡ φυσις τοις νοημασιν ἑπεσθαι την λεξιν, οὐ τῃ λεξει τα νοηματα· συμβουλευοντι δε δη περι πολεμου και ειρηνης λεγοντι και ἰδιωτη τον περι ψυχης τρεχοντι κινδυνον ἐν δικαστηριοις, τα κομψα, και θεατρικα, και μειρακιωδη ταυτι οὐκ οἰδα ἁτινα δυναιτ' ἀν παρασχειν ὠφελειαν· μαλλον δ' οἰδα ὁτι και βλαβης ἀν αἰτια γενοιτο· χαριεντισμος γαρ πᾶς ἐν σπουδῃ, και καλως γινομενος, ἀωρον πραγμα και πολεμιωτατον ἐλεω." Judic. de Isocrate, p. 558. "His studied circumflexion of periods, and "juvenile affectation of the flowers of speech, I do not approve. The thought "is frequently made subservient to the music of the sentence; and elegance is "preferred to reason. Whereas, in every discourse, where business and affairs "are concerned, nature ought to be followed: and nature certainly dictates "that the expression should be an object subordinate to the sense, not the sense "to the expression. When one rises to give public counsel concerning war "and peace, or takes the charge of a private man, who is standing at the bar "to be tried for his life, those studied decorations, those theatrical graces and "juvenile flowers, are out of place. Instead of being of service, they are detrimental to the cause we espouse. When the contest is of a serious kind, "ornaments, which at another time would have beauty, then lose their effect, "and prove hostile to the affections which we wish to raise in our hearers."

surmounting

LECT. XXV. ſurmounting all the diſadvantages that aroſe from his perſon and addreſs; his ſhutting himſelf up in a cave, that he might ſtudy with leſs diſtraction; his declaiming by the ſea-ſhore, that he might accuſtom himſelf to the noiſe of a tumultuous aſſembly, and with pebbles in his mouth, that he might correct a defect in his ſpeech; his practiſing at home with a naked ſword hanging over his ſhoulder, that he might check an ungraceful motion, to which he was ſubject; all thoſe circumſtances which, we learn from Plutarch, are very encouraging to ſuch as ſtudy Eloquence, as they ſhow how far art and application may avail, for acquiring an excellence which nature ſeemed unwilling to grant us.

DESPISING the affected and florid manner which the Rhetoricians of that age followed, Demoſthenes returned to the forcible and manly Eloquence of Pericles; and ſtrength and vehemence form the principal characteriſtics of his Style. Never had orator a finer field than Demoſthenes in his Olynthiacs and Philippics, which are his capital Orations; and, no doubt, to the nobleneſs of the ſubject, and to that integrity and public ſpirit which eminently breathe in them, they are indebted for much of their merit. The ſubject, is to rouze the indignation of his countrymen againſt Philip of Macedon, the public enemy of the liberties of Greece; and to guard them againſt the inſidious meaſures, by which that crafty Prince endeavoured to lay them aſleep to danger. In the proſecution of this end, we ſee him taking every proper method to animate a people, renowned for juſtice, humanity, and valour, but in many inſtances become corrupt and degenerate. He boldly taxes them with their venality, their indolence, and indifference to the public cauſe;

while, at the ſame time, with all the art of an Orator, he recals the glory of their anceſtors to their thoughts, ſhows them that they are ſtill a flouriſhing and a powerful people, the natural protectors of the liberty of Greece, and who wanted only the inclination to exert themſelves, in order to make Philip tremble. With his cotemporary orators, who were in Philip's intereſt, and who perſuaded the people to peace, he keeps no meaſures, but plainly reproaches them as the betrayers of their country. He not only prompts to vigorous conduct, but he lays down the plan of that conduct; he [illegible] into particulars; and points out, with great exactneſs, th[illegible]ution. This is the ſtrain of theſe orations. They are ſtrongly animated; and full of the impetuoſity and fire of public ſpirit. They proceed in a continued train of inductions, conſequences, and demonſtrations, founded on ſound reaſon. The figures which he uſes, are never ſought after; but always riſe from the ſubject. He employs them ſparingly indeed; for ſplendor and ornament are not the diſtinctions of this Orator's compoſition. It is an energy of thought peculiar to himſelf, which forms his character, and ſets him above all others. He appears to attend much more to things than to words. We forget the orator, and think of the buſineſs. He warms the mind, and impels to action. He has no parade and oſtentation; no methods of inſinuation; no laboured introductions; but is like a man full of his ſubject, who, after preparing his audience by a ſentence or two for hearing plain truths, enters directly on buſineſs.

Demosthenes appears to great advantage, when contraſted with Æſchines in the celebrated oration "pro Corona." Æſchines

was

was his rival in buſineſs, and perſonal enemy; and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators of that age. But when we read the two orations, Æſchines is feeble in compariſon of Demoſthenes, and makes much leſs impreſſion on the mind. His reaſonings concerning the law that was in queſtion, are indeed very ſubtile; but his invective againſt Demoſthenes is general, and ill ſupported. Whereas Demoſthenes is a torrent, that nothing can reſiſt. He bears down his antagoniſt with violence; he draws his character in the ſtrongeſt colours; and the particular merit of that oration is, that [illegible] deſcriptions in it are highly picturesque. [illegible] it a ſtrain of magnanimity and high honour: the Orator ſpeaks with that ſtrength and conſcious dignity which great actions and public ſpirit alone inſpire. Both Orators uſe great liberties with one another; and, in general, that unreſtrained licence which ancient manners permitted, even to the length of abuſive names and downright ſcurrility, as appears both here and in Cicero's Philippics, hurts and offends a modern ear. What thoſe ancient Orators gained by ſuch a manner in point of freedom and boldneſs, is more than compenſated by want of dignity; which ſeems to give an advantage, in this reſpect, to the greater decency of modern ſpeaking.

The Style of Demoſthenes is ſtrong and conciſe, though ſometimes, it muſt not be diſſembled, harſh and abrupt. His words are very expreſſive; his arrangement is firm and manly; and, though far from being unmuſical, yet it ſeems difficult to find in him that ſtudied, but concealed number, and Rythmus, which ſome of the ancient critics are fond of attributing to him. Negligent of thoſe leſſer graces, one would rather con-

ceive

ceive him to have aimed at that Sublime which lies in ſentiment. His action and pronunciation are recorded to have been uncommonly vehement and ardent; which, from the manner of his compoſition, we are naturally led to believe. The character which one forms of him, from reading his works, is of the auſtere, rather than the gentle kind. He is, on every occaſion, grave, ſerious, paſſionate; takes every thing on a high tone; never lets himſelf down, nor attempts any thing like pleaſantry. If any fault can be found to his admirable Eloquence, it is, that he ſometimes borders on the hard and dry. He may be thought to want ſmoothneſs and grace; which Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus attributes to his imitating too cloſely the manner of Thucydides, who was his great model for Style, and whoſe hiſtory he is ſaid to have written eight times over with his own hand. But theſe defects are far more than compenſated, by that admirable and maſterly force of maſculine Eloquence, which, as it overpowered all who heard it, cannot, at this day, be read without emotion.

After the days of Demoſthenes, Greece loſt her liberty, Eloquence of courſe languiſhed, and relapſed again into the feeble manner introduced by the Rhetoricians and Sophiſts. Demetrius Phalerius, who lived in the next age to Demoſthenes, attained indeed ſome character, but he is repreſented to us as a flowery, rather than a perſuaſive ſpeaker, who aimed at grace rather than ſubſtance. "Delectabat Athenienſes," ſays Cicero, "magis quam inflammabat." "He amuſed the Athenians, rather than warmed them." And after his time, we hear of no more Grecian Orators of any note.

LECTURE XXVI.

HISTORY OF ELOQUENCE CONTINUED—ROMAN ELOQUENCE—CICERO—MODERN ELOQUENCE.

LECT. XXVI. HAVING treated of the rise of Eloquence, and of its state among the Greeks, we now proceed to consider its progress among the Romans, where we shall find one model, at least, of Eloquence, in its most splendid and illustrious form. The Romans were long a martial nation, altogether rude, and unskilled in arts of any kind. Arts were of late introduction among them; they were not known till after the conquest of Greece; and the Romans always acknowledged the Grecians as their masters in every part of learning.

> Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
> Intulit agresti Latio *.—— Hor. Epist. ad Aug.

* When conquered Greece brought in her captive arts,
She triumph'd o'er her savage conquerors' hearts;
Taught our rough verse its numbers to refine,
And our rude Style with elegance to shine. Francis.

As

As the Romans derived their Eloquence, Poetry, and Learning from the Greeks, ſo they muſt be confeſſed to be far inferior to them in genius for all theſe accompliſhments. They were a more grave and magnificent, but a leſs acute and ſprightly people. They had neither the vivacity nor the ſenſibility of the Greeks; their paſſions were not ſo eaſily moved, nor their conceptions ſo lively; in compariſon of them, they were a phlegmatic nation. Their language reſembled their character; it was regular, firm, and ſtately; but wanted that ſimple and expreſſive naïveté, and, in particular, that flexibility to ſuit every different mode and ſpecies of compoſition, for which the Greek tongue is diſtinguiſhed above that of every other country.

LECT. XXVI.

Graiis ingenium, graiis dedit ore rotundo
Muſa loqui *—— ARS. POET.

And hence, when we compare together the various rival productions of Greece and Rome, we ſhall always find this diſtinction obtain, that in the Greek productions there is more native genius; in the Roman, more regularity and art. What the Greeks invented, the Romans poliſhed; the one was the original, rough ſometimes, and incorrect; the other, a finiſhed copy.

As the Roman government, during the republic, was of the popular kind, there is no doubt but that, in the hands of the

* To her lov'd Greeks the Muſe indulgent gave,
To her lov'd Greeks with greatneſs to conceive;
And in ſublimer tone their language raiſe:
Her Greeks were only covetous of praiſe.

FRANCIS.

LECT. XXVI. leading men, public speaking became early an engine of government, and was employed for gaining distinction and power. But in the rude unpolished times of the State, their speaking was hardly of that sort that could be called Eloquence. Though Cicero, in his Treatise "de Claris Oratoribus," endeavours to give some reputation to the elder Cato, and those who were his cotemporaries, yet he acknowledges it to have been "Asperum "et horridum genus dicendi," a rude and harsh strain of speech. It was not till a short time preceding Cicero's age, that the Roman Orators rose into any note. Crassus and Antonius, two of the Speakers in the dialogue De Oratore, appear to have been the most eminent, whose different manners Cicero describes with great beauty in that dialogue, and in his other rhetorical works. But as none of their productions are extant, nor any of Hortensius's, who was Cicero's cotemporary and rival at the bar, it is needless to transcribe from Cicero's writings the account which he gives of those great men, and of the character of their Eloquence *.

The object in this period, most worthy to draw our attention, is Cicero himself; whose name alone suggests every thing that is splendid in Oratory. With the history of his life, and with his character, as a man and a politician, we have not at present any direct concern. We consider him only as an eloquent Speaker; and, in this view, it is our business to remark

* Such as are desirous of particular information on this head, had better have recourse to the original, by reading Cicero's three books De Oratore, and his other two treatises, entitled, the one, Brutus, Sive de Claris Oratoribus; the other Orator, ad M. Brutum; which, on several accounts, well deserve perusal.

both his virtues, and his defects, if he has any. His virtues are, beyond controversy, eminently great. In all his Orations there is high art. He begins, generally, with a regular exordium; and with much preparation and insinuation prepossesses the hearers, and studies to gain their affections. His method is clear, and his arguments are arranged with great propriety. His method is indeed more clear than that of Demosthenes; and this is one advantage which he has over him. We find every thing in its proper place; he never attempts to move, till he has endeavoured to convince; and in moving, especially the softer passions, he is very successful. No man, that ever wrote, knew the power and force of words better than Cicero. He rolls them along with the greatest beauty and pomp; and, in the structure of his sentences, is curious and exact to the highest degree. He is always full and flowing, never abrupt. He is a great amplifier of every subject; magnificent, and in his sentiments highly moral. His manner is on the whole diffuse, yet it is often happily varied, and suited to the subject. In his four orations, for instance, against Catiline, the tone and style of each of them, particularly the first and last, is very different, and accommodated with a great deal of judgment to the occasion, and the situation in which they were spoken. When a great public object roused his mind, and demanded indignation and force, he departs considerably from that loose and declamatory manner to which he inclines at other times, and becomes exceedingly cogent and vehement. This is the case in his Orations against Anthony, and in those too against Verres and Catiline.

LECT. XXVI.

Together with those high qualities which Cicero possesses, he is not exempt from certain defects, of which it is necessary to take notice. For the Ciceronian Eloquence is a pattern so dazzling by its beauties, that, if not examined with accuracy and judgment, it is apt to betray the unwary into a faulty imitation; and I am of opinion, that it has sometimes produced this effect. In most of his Orations, especially those composed in the earlier part of his life, there is too much art; even carried the length of ostentation. There is too visible a parade of Eloquence. He seems often to aim at obtaining admiration, rather than at operating conviction, by what he says. Hence, on some occasions, he is showy rather than solid; and diffuse, where he ought to have been pressing. His sentences are, at at all times, round and sonorous; they cannot be accused of monotony, for they possess variety of cadence; but, from too great a study of magnificence, he is sometimes deficient in strength. On all occasions, where there is the least room for it, he is full of himself. His great actions, and the real services which he had performed to his country, apologize for this in part; ancient manners, too, imposed fewer restraints from the side of decorum; but, even after these allowances made, Cicero's ostentation of himself cannot be wholly palliated; and his Orations, indeed all his works, leave on our minds the impression of a good man, but withal, of a vain man.

The defects which we have now taken notice of in Cicero's Eloquence, were not unobserved by his own cotemporaries. This we learn from Quinctilian, and from the author of the dialogue, "de Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ." Brutus, we are informed, called him, "fractum et elumbem," broken and

enervated.

LECT. XXVI.

enervated. "Suorum temporum homines," ſays Quinctilian, "inceſſere audebant eum ut tumidiorem & Aſianum, et "redundantem, et in repititionibus nimium, et in ſalibus ali-"quando frigidum, & in compoſitione fractum et exſultantem, "& penè viro molliorem *." Theſe cenſures were undoubtedly carried too far; and ſavour of malignity and perſonal enmity. They ſaw his defects, but they aggravated them; and the ſource of theſe aggravations can be traced to the difference which prevailed in Rome, in Cicero's days, between two great parties, with reſpect to Eloquence. "The "Attici," and the "Aſiani." The former, who called themſelves the Attics, were the patrons of what they conceived to be the chaſte, ſimple, and natural Style of Eloquence; from which they accuſed Cicero as having departed, and as leaning to the florid Aſiatic manner. In ſeveral of his rhetorical works, particularly in his "Orator "ad Brutum," Cicero, in his turn, endeavours to expoſe this ſect, as ſubſtituting a frigid and jejune manner, in place of the true Attic Eloquence; and contends, that his own compoſition was formed upon the real Attic Style. In the 10th Chapter of the laſt Book of Quinctilian's Inſtitutions, a full account is given of the diſputes between theſe two parties; and of the Rhodian, or middle manner between the Attics and the Aſiatics. Quinctilian himſelf declares on Cicero's ſide; and, whether it be called Attic or Aſiatic, prefers the full, the copious, and the amplifying Style. He concludes with this very juſt obſervation: "Plures ſunt eloquentiæ facies; ſed ſtultiſſimum eſt quærere,

* "His cotemporaries ventured to reproach him as ſwelling, redundant and "Aſiatic; too frequent in repetitions; in his attempts towards wit ſometimes "cold; and, in the ſtrain of his compoſition, feeble, deſultory, and more effe-"minate than became a man."

"ad

LECT. XXVI. "ad quam recturus se sit orator; cum omnis species, quæ modo "recta est, habeat usum.—Utetur enim, ut res exiget, om- "nibus; nec pro causâ modo, sed pro partibus causæ *."

On the subject of comparing Cicero and Demosthenes, much has been said by critical writers. The different manners of these two Princes of Eloquence, and the distinguishing characters of each, are so strongly marked in their writings, that the comparison is, in many respects, obvious and easy. The character of Demosthenes is vigour and austerity; that of Cicero is gentleness and insinuation. In the one, you find more manliness, in the other, more ornament. The one is more harsh, but more spirited and cogent; the other more agreeable, but withal, looser and weaker.

To account for this difference, without any prejudice to Cicero, it has been said, that we must look to the nature of their different auditories; that the refined Athenians followed with ease the concise and convincing Eloquence of Demosthenes; but that a manner more popular, more flowery, and declamatory, was requisite in speaking to the Romans, a people less acute, and less acquainted with the arts of speech. But this is not satisfactory. For we must observe, that the Greek Orator spoke much oftener before a mixed multitude, than the Roman.

* "Eloquence admits of many different forms; and nothing can be more "foolish than to enquire, by which of them an Orator is to regulate his Com- "position; since every form, which is in itself just, has its own place and "use. The Orator, according as circumstances require, will employ them "all; suiting them not only to the cause or subject of which he treats, but to "the different parts of that subject."

Almost

Almoſt all the public buſineſs of Athens was tranſacted in popular Aſſemblies. The common people were his hearers, and his judges. Whereas Cicero generally addreſſed himſelf to the "Patres Conſcripti," or in criminal trials to the Prætor, and the Select Judges; and it cannot be imagined, that the perſons of higheſt rank, and beſt education in Rome, required a more diffuſe manner of pleading than the common citizens of Athens, in order to make them underſtand the cauſe, or reliſh the Speaker. Perhaps we ſhall come nearer the truth, by obſerving, that to unite together all the qualities, without the leaſt exception, that form a perfect Orator, and to excel equally in each of thoſe qualities, is not to be expected from the limited powers of human genius. The higheſt degree of ſtrength is, I ſuſpect, never found united with the higheſt degree of ſmoothneſs and ornament; equal attentions to both are incompatible; and the genius that carries ornament to its utmoſt length, is not of ſuch a kind, as can excel as much in vigour. For there plainly lies the characteriſtical difference between theſe two celebrated Orators.

It is a diſadvantage to Demoſthenes, that, beſides his conciſeneſs, which ſometimes produces obſcurity, the language, in which he writes, is leſs familiar to moſt of us than the Latin, and that we are leſs acquainted with the Greek antiquities than we are with the Roman. We read Cicero with more eaſe, and of courſe with more pleaſure. Independent of this circumſtance too, he is no doubt, in himſelf, a more agreeable writer than the other. But notwithſtanding this advantage, I am of opinion, that were the ſtate in danger, or ſome great public intereſt at ſtake, which drew the ſerious attention of men, an Oration in the ſpirit and

ſtrain

ſtrain of Demoſthenes, would have more weight, and produce greater effects than one in the Ciceronian manner. Were Demoſthenes's Philippics ſpoken in a Britiſh Aſſembly, in a ſimilar conjuncture of affairs, they would convince and perſuade at this day. The rapid Style, the vehement reaſoning, the diſdain, anger, boldneſs, freedom, which perpetually animate them, would render their ſucceſs infallible over any modern Aſſembly. I queſtion whether the ſame can be ſaid of Cicero's Orations; whoſe Eloquence, however beautiful, and however well ſuited to the Roman taſte, yet borders oftener on declamation, and is more remote from the manner in which we now expect to hear real buſineſs and cauſes of importance treated*.

In comparing Demoſthenes and Cicero, moſt of the French Critics incline to give the preference to the latter. P. Rapin the Jeſuit, in the Parallels which he has drawn between ſome of the moſt eminent Greek and Roman writers, uniformly decides in favour of the Roman. For the preference which he gives to Cicero, he aſſigns, and lays ſtreſs on one reaſon of a pretty extraordinary nature; viz. that Demoſthenes could not poſſibly have ſo complete an inſight as Cicero into the manners and paſſions of men; Why?—Becauſe he had not the advantage of peruſing Ariſtotle's treatiſe of Rhetoric, wherein, ſays our Critic, he has fully laid open that myſtery: and, to ſupport this weighty argument, he enters into a controverſy with A. Gellius, in order to prove that Ariſtotle's Rhetoric was not

* In this judgment, I concur with Mr. David Hume, in his Eſſay upon Eloquence. He gives it as his opinion, that, of all human productions, the Orations of Demoſthenes preſent to us the models which approach the neareſt to perfection.

published till after Demosthenes had spoken, at least, his most considerable orations. Nothing can be more childish. Such Orators as Cicero and Demosthenes, derived their knowledge of the human passions, and their power of moving them, from higher sources than any Treatise of Rhetoric. One French Critic has indeed departed from the common tract; and, after bestowing on Cicero those just praises to which the consent of so many ages shows him to be entitled, concludes, however, with giving the palm to Demosthenes. This is Fenelon, the famous Archbishop of Cambray, and Author of Telemachus; himself surely no enemy to all the graces and flowers of composition. It is in his Reflections on Rhetoric and Poetry, that he gives this judgment; a small tract, commonly published along with his Dialogues on Eloquence *. These dialogues and reflections are particularly worthy of perusal, as containing, I think, the justest

* As his expressions are remarkably happy and beautiful, the passage here referred to deserves to be inserted. "Je ne crains pas dire, que Demosthene "me paroit supérieur à Cicéron. Je proteste que personne n'admire plus Ci- "céron que je fais. Il embellit tout ce qu'il touche. Il fait honneur à la "parole. Il fait des mots ce qu'un autre n'en sauroit faire. Il a je ne sai "combien de sortes d'esprits. Il est même court, & vehement, toutes les fois "qu'il veut l'estre; contre Catiline, contre Verres, contre Antoine. Mais "on remarque quelque parure dans son discours. L'art y est merveilleux; "mais on l'entrevoit. L'orateur en pensant au salut de la république, ne "s'oublie pas, et ne se laisse pas oublier. Demosthene paroit sortir de soi, et "ne voir que la patrie. Il ne cherche point le beau; il le fait, sans y penser. "Il est au-dessus de l'admiration. Il se sert de la parole, comme un homme "modeste de son habit, pour se couvrir. Il tonne; il foudroye. C'est un tor- "rent qui entraine tout. On ne peut le critiquer, parcequ'on est saisi. On pense "aux choses qu'il dit, & non à ses paroles. On le perd de vue. On n'est oc- "cupé que de Philippe qui envahit tout. Je suis charmé de ces deux orateurs: "mais j'avoue que je suis moins touché de l'art infini, & de la magnifique "éloquence de Cicéron, que de la rapide simplicité de Demosthene."

 ideas

LECT. XXVI. ideas on the ſubject, that are to be met with in any modern critical writer.

The reign of Eloquence, among the Romans, was very ſhort. After the age of Cicero, it languiſhed, or rather expired; and we have no reaſon to wonder at this being the caſe. For not only was liberty entirely extinguiſhed, but arbitrary power felt in its heavieſt and moſt oppreſſive weight: Providence having, in its wrath, delivered over the Roman Empire to a ſucceſſion of ſome of the moſt execrable tyrants that ever diſgraced, and ſcourged, the human race. Under their government, it was naturally to be expected that taſte would be corrupted, and genius diſcouraged. Some of the ornamental arts, leſs intimately connected with liberty, continued, for a while, to prevail; but for that maſculine Eloquence, which had exerciſed itſelf in the ſenate, and in the public affairs, there was no longer any place. The change which was produced on Eloquence, by the nature of the government, and the ſtate of the public manners, is beautifully deſcribed in the Dialogue de Cauſis corruptæ Eloquentiæ, which is attributed, by ſome, to Tacitus, by others, to Quinctilian. Luxury, effeminacy, and flattery, overwhelmed all. The Forum, where ſo many great affairs had been tranſacted, was now become a deſert. Private cauſes were ſtill pleaded; but the Public was no longer intereſted; nor any general attention drawn to what paſſed there: "Unus inter hæc, et alter, dicenti aſſiſtit; et res velut "in ſolitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plauſuque opus "eſt, et velut quodam theatro, qualia quotidie antiquis ora-"toribus contingebant; cum tot ac tam nobiles forum co-"arctarent; cum clientelæ, & tribus, & municipiorum lega-"tiones,

" tiones, periclitantibus assisterent; cum in plerisque judiciis " crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid judicaretur *."

In the schools of the declaimers, the corruption of Eloquence was completed. Imaginary and fantastic subjects, such as had no reference to real life, or business, were made the themes of declamation; and all manner of false and affected ornaments were brought into vogue: " Pace vestra liceat " dixisse," says Petronius Arbiter, to the declaimers of his time, " primi omnem eloquentiam perdidistis. Levibus enim " ac inanibus sonis ludibria quædam excitando, effecistis ut " corpus orationis enervaretur atque caderet. Et ideo ego ex- " istimo adolescentulos in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex " iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident; sed piratas " cum catenis in littore stantes; et tyrannos edicta scribentes " quibus imperent filiis ut patrum suorum capita præcidant; " sed responsa, in pestilentia data, ut virgines tres aut plures im- " molentur; sed mellitos verborum globulos, & omnia quasi " papavere, & sesamo sparsa. Qui inter hæc nutriuntur, non " magis sapere possunt, quam bene olere qui in culina habi- " tant †." In the hands of the Greek rhetoricians, the manly and

" * The Courts of Judicature are, at present, so unfrequented, that the " Orator seems to stand alone, and talk to bare walls. But Eloquence re- " joices in the bursts of loud applause, and exults in a full audience; such as " used to press round the antient Orators, when the Forum stood crowded " with nobles; when a numerous retinue of clients, when foreign ambassa- " dors, when tribes, and whole cities assisted at the debate; and when, in " many trials, the Roman people understood themselves to be concerned in " the event."

" † With your permission, I must be allowed to say, that you have been " the first destroyers of all true Eloquence. For, by those mock subjects, on

 " which

LECT. XXVI.

and ſenſible Eloquence of their firſt noted ſpeakers, degenerated, as I formerly ſhowed, into ſubtility and ſophiſtry; in the hands of the Roman declaimers, it paſſed into the quaint and affected; into point and antitheſis. This corrupt manner begins to appear in the writings of Seneca; and ſhows itſelf, alſo, in the famous panegyric of Pliny the Younger on Trajan, which may be conſidered as the laſt effort of Roman oratory. Though the author was a man of genius, yet it is deficient in nature and eaſe. We ſee, throughout the whole, a perpetual attempt to depart from the ordinary way of thinking, and to ſupport a forced elevation.

In the decline of the Roman Empire, the introduction of Chriſtianity gave riſe to a new ſpecies of Eloquence, in the apologies, ſermons, and paſtoral writings of the Fathers of the Church. Among the Latin Fathers, Lactantius and Minutius Felix, are the moſt remarkable for purity of Style; and, in a later age, the famous St. Auguſtine poſſeſſes a conſiderable ſhare of ſprightlineſs and ſtrength. But none of the Fathers afford any juſt models of Eloquence. Their Language, as

"which you employ your empty and unmeaning compoſitions, you have "enervated and overthrown all that is manly and ſubſtantial in Oratory. I "cannot but conclude, that the youth whom you educate, muſt be totally per-"verted in your ſchools, by hearing and ſeeing nothing which has any affini-"ty to real life, or human affairs; but ſtories of pirates ſtanding on the ſhore, "provided with chains for loading their captives, and of tyrants iſſuing their "edicts, by which children are commanded to cut off the heads of their "parents; but reſponſes given by oracles in the time of peſtilence, that "ſeveral virgins muſt be ſacrificed; but glittering ornaments of phraſe, and "a ſtyle highly ſpiced, if we may ſay ſo, with affected conceits. They who "are educated in the midſt of ſuch ſtudies, can no more acquire a good "taſte, than they can ſmell ſweet who dwell perpetually in a kitchen."

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ſoon as we deſcend to the third or fourth century, becomes harſh; and they are, in general, infected with the taſte of that age, a love of ſwoln and ſtrained thoughts, and of the play of words. Among the Greek Fathers, the moſt diſtinguiſhed, by far, for his oratorial merit, is St. Chryſoſtome. His Language is pure; his Style highly figured. He is copious, ſmooth, and ſometimes pathetic. But he retains, at the ſame time, much of that character which has been always attributed to the Aſiatic Eloquence, diffuſe and redundant to a great degree, and often overwrought and tumid. He may be read, however, with advantage, for the Eloquence of the pulpit, as being freer of falſe ornaments than the Latin Fathers.

As there is nothing more that occurs to me, deſerving particular attention in the middle age, I paſs now to the ſtate of Eloquence in modern times. Here, it muſt be confeſſed, that, in no European nation, Public Speaking has been conſidered as ſo great an object, or been cultivated with ſo much care, as in Greece or Rome. Its reputation has never been ſo high; its effects have never been ſo conſiderable; nor has that high and ſublime kind of it, which prevailed in thoſe antient ſtates, been ſo much as aimed at: notwithſtanding, too, that a new profeſſion has been eſtabliſhed, which gives peculiar advantages to Oratory, and affords it the nobleſt field; I mean, that of the Church. The genius of the world ſeems, in this reſpect, to have undergone ſome alteration. The two countries where we might expect to find moſt of the ſpirit of Eloquence, are France and Great Britain: France, on account of the diſtinguiſhed turn of the nation towards all the liberal arts, and of the encouragement which, for this century paſt, thoſe arts

LECT. XXVI. have received from the Public; Great Britain, on account both of the public capacity and genius, and of the free government which it enjoys. Yet, ſo it is, that, in neither of thoſe countries, has the talent of Public Speaking riſen near to the degree of its antient ſplendor. While, in other productions of genius, both in proſe and in poetry, they have contended for the prize with Greece and Rome; nay, in ſome compoſitions, may be thought to have ſurpaſſed them: the names of Demoſthenes and Cicero, ſtand, at this day, unrivalled in fame; and it would be held preſumptuous and abſurd, to pretend to place any modern whatever on the ſame, or even on a nearly equal, rank.

It ſeems particularly ſurpriſing, that Great Britain ſhould not have made a more conſpicuous figure in Eloquence than it has hitherto attained; when we conſider the enlightened, and, at the ſame time, the free and bold genius of the country, which ſeems not a little to favour Oratory; and when we conſider that, of all the polite nations, it alone poſſeſſes a popular government, or admits into the legiſlature, ſuch numerous aſſemblies as can be ſuppoſed to lie under the dominion of Eloquence *. Notwithſtanding this advantage, it muſt be confeſſed, that, in moſt parts of Eloquence, we are undoubtedly inferior, not only to the Greeks and Romans by many degrees, but alſo to the French. We have Philoſophers, emi-

* Mr. Hume, in his Eſſay on Eloquence, makes this obſervation, and illuſtrates it with his uſual elegance. He, indeed, ſuppoſes, that no ſatisfactory reaſons can be given to account for the inferiority of modern to antient Eloquence. In this, I differ from him, and ſhall endeavour, before the concluſion of this Lecture, to point out ſome cauſes to which, I think, it may, in a great meaſure, be aſcribed, in the three great ſcenes of Public Speaking.

nent and conſpicuous, perhaps, beyond any nation, in all the parts of ſcience. We have both taſte and erudition, in a high degree. We have Hiſtorians, we have Poets of the greateſt name; but of Orators, or Public Speakers, how little have we to boaſt? And where are the monuments of their genius to be found? in every period we have had ſome who made a figure, by managing the debates in Parliament; but that figure was commonly owing to their wiſdom, or their experience in buſineſs, more than to their talents for Oratory; and unleſs, in ſome few inſtances, wherein the power of Oratory has appeared, indeed, with much luſtre, the art of Parliamentary Speaking rather obtained to ſeveral a temporary applauſe, than conferred upon any a laſting renown. At the bar, though, queſtionleſs, we have many able pleaders, yet few or none of their pleadings have been thought worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity; nor have commanded attention, any longer than the cauſe which was the ſubject of them intereſted the Public; while, in France, the pleadings of Patru, in the former age, and thoſe of Cochin and D'Agueſſeau, in later times, are read with pleaſure, and are often quoted as examples of Eloquence by the French critics. In the ſame manner, in the pulpit, the Britiſh divines have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the moſt accurate and rational compoſitions which, perhaps, any nation can boaſt of. Many printed ſermons we have, full of good ſenſe, and of ſound divinity and morality; but the Eloquence to be found in them, the power of perſuaſion, of intereſting and engaging the heart, which is, or ought to be, the great object of the pulpit, is far from bearing a ſuitable proportion to the excellence of the matter. There are few arts, in my opinion, farther from perfection, than that of preaching is among us; the reaſons of which, I ſhall after-

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LECT. XXVI.

wards have occasion to discuss; in proof of the fact, it is sufficient to observe, that an English sermon, instead of being a persuasive animated Oration, seldom rises beyond the strain of correct and dry reasoning. Whereas, in the sermons of Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue, and Flechier, among the French, we see a much higher species of Eloquence aimed at, and in a great measure attained, than the British preachers have in view.

In general, the characteristical difference between the state of Eloquence in France and in Great Britain is, that the French have adopted higher ideas both of pleasing and persuading by means of Oratory, though, sometimes, in the execution they fail. In Great Britain, we have taken up Eloquence on a lower key; but in our execution, as was naturally to be expected, have been more correct. In France, the style of their Orators is ornamented with bolder figures; and their discourse carried on with more amplification, more warmth and elevation. The composition is often very beautiful; but sometimes, also, too diffuse, and deficient in that strength and cogency which renders Eloquence powerful: a defect owing, perhaps, in part, to the genius of the people, which leads them to attend fully as much to ornament as to substance; and, in part, to the nature of their government, which, by excluding Public Speaking from having much influence on the conduct of Public Affairs, deprives Eloquence of its best opportunity for acquiring nerves and strength. Hence the pulpit is the principal field which is left for their Eloquence. The members, too, of the French academy give harangues at their admission, in which genius often appears; but labouring under the misfortune of

having no ſubject to diſcourſe upon, they run commonly into flattery and panegyric, the moſt barren and inſipid of all topics. LECT. XXVI.

I OBSERVED before, that the Greeks and Romans aſpired to a more ſublime ſpecies of Eloquence, than is aimed at by the Moderns. Theirs was of the vehement and paſſionate kind, by which they endeavoured to inflame the minds of their hearers, and hurry their imaginations away: and, ſuitable to this vehemence of thought, was their vehemence of geſture and action; the "ſupploſio pedis *," the "percuſſio frontis & "femoris *," were, as we learn from Cicero's writings, uſual geſtures among them at the bar; though now they would be reckoned extravagant any where, except upon the ſtage. Modern Eloquence is much more cool and temperate; and in Great Britain eſpecially, has confined itſelf almoſt wholly to the argumentative and rational. It is much of that ſpecies which the antient critics called the "Tenuis," or "Subtilis;" which aims at convincing and inſtructing, rather than affecting the paſſions, and aſſumes a tone not much higher than common argument and diſcourſe.

SEVERAL reaſons may be given, why modern Eloquence has been ſo limited, and humble in its efforts. In the firſt place, I am of opinion, that this change muſt, in part, be aſcribed to that correct turn of thinking, which has been ſo much ſtudied in modern times. It can hardly be doubted, that, in many efforts of mere genius, the antient Greeks and Romans excelled

* Vide, De Clar. Orator.

LECT. XXVI.

us; but, on the other hand, that, in accuracy and closeness of reasoning on many subjects, we have some advantage over them, ought, I think, to be admitted also. In proportion as the world has advanced, philosophy has made greater progress. A certain strictness of good sense has, in this island particularly, been cultivated, and introduced into every subject. Hence we are more on our guard against the flowers of Elocution; we are on the watch; we are jealous of being deceived by Oratory. Our Public Speakers are obliged to be more reserved than the antients, in their attempts to elevate the imagination, and warm the passions; and, by the influence of prevailing taste, their own genius is sobered and chastened, perhaps, in too great a degree. It is likely too, I confess, that what we fondly ascribe to our correctness and good sense, is owing, in a great measure, to our phlegm and natural coldness. For the vivacity and sensibility of the Greeks and Romans, more especially of the former, seem to have been much greater than ours, and to have given them a higher relish of all the beauties of Oratory.

Besides these national considerations, we must, in the next place, attend to peculiar circumstances in the three great scenes of Public Speaking, which have proved disadvantageous to the growth of Eloquence among us. Though the Parliament of Great Britain be the noblest field which Europe, at this day, affords to a Public Speaker, yet Eloquence has never been so powerful an instrument there, as it was in the popular assemblies of Greece and Rome. Under some former reigns, the

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high hand of arbitrary power bore a violent ſway; and in later times, miniſterial influence has generally prevailed. The power of Speaking, though always conſiderable, yet has been often found too feeble to counterbalance either of theſe; and, of courſe, has not been ſtudied with ſo much zeal and fervour, as where its effect on buſineſs was irreſiſtible and certain.

At the Bar, our diſadvantage, in compariſon of the antients, is great. Among them, the judges were generally numerous; the laws were few and ſimple; the deciſion of cauſes was left, in a great meaſure, to equity and the ſenſe of mankind. Here was an ample field for what they termed Judicial Eloquence. But among the moderns, the caſe is quite altered. The ſyſtem of law is become much more complicated. The knowledge of it is thereby rendered ſo laborious an attainment, as to be the chief object of a lawyer's education, and, in a manner, the ſtudy of his life. The Art of Speaking is but a ſecondary accompliſhment, to which he can afford to devote much leſs of his time and labour. The bounds of Eloquence beſides, are now much circumſcribed at the Bar; and except, in a few caſes, reduced to arguing from ſtrict law, ſtatute, or precedent; by which means knowledge, much more than Oratory, is become the principal requiſite.

With regard to the Pulpit, it has certainly been a great diſadvantage, that the practice of reading Sermons, inſtead of repeating them from memory, has prevailed ſo univerſally in England. This may, indeed, have introduced accuracy; but it has done great prejudice to Eloquence; for a Diſcourſe read,

LECT. XXVI. is far inferior to an Oration spoken. It leads to a different sort of composition, as well as of delivery; and can never have an equal effect upon any audience. Another circumstance, too, has been unfortunate. The sectaries and fanatics, before the Restoration, adopted a warm, zealous, and popular manner of preaching; and those who adhered to them, in after-times, continued to distinguish themselves by somewhat of the same manner. The odium of these sects drove the established church from that warmth which they were judged to have carried too far, into the opposite extreme of a studied coolness, and composure of manner. Hence, from the art of persuasion, which preaching ought always to be, it has passed, in England, into mere reasoning and instruction; which not only has brought down the Eloquence of the Pulpit to a lower tone than it might justly assume; but has produced this farther effect, that, by accustoming the Public ear to such cool and dispassionate Discourses, it has tended to fashion other kinds of Public Speaking upon the same model.

Thus I have given some view of the state of Eloquence in modern times, and endeavoured to account for it. It has, as we have seen, fallen below that splendor which it maintained in antient ages; and from being sublime and vehement, has come down to be temperate and cool. Yet, still in that region which it occupies, it admits great scope; and, to the defect of zeal and application, more than to the want of capacity and genius, we may ascribe its not having hitherto risen higher. It is a field where there is much honour yet to be reaped; it is an instrument which may be employed for

purposes

purposes of the highest importance. The antient models may still, with much advantage, be set before us for imitation; though, in that imitation, we must, doubtless, have some regard to what modern taste and modern manners will bear; of which I shall afterwards have occasion to say more.

LECTURE XXVII.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF PUBLIC SPEAKING— ELOQUENCE OF POPULAR ASSEMBLIES— EXTRACTS FROM DEMOSTHENES.

AFTER the preliminary views which have been given of the nature of Eloquence in general, and of the ſtate in which it has ſubſiſted in different ages and countries, I am now to enter on conſidering the different kinds of Public Speaking, the diſtinguiſhing characters of each, and the rules which relate to them. The ancients divided all Orations into three kinds; the Demonſtrative, the Deliberative, and the Judicial. The ſcope of the Demonſtrative was to praiſe or to blame; that of the Deliberative to adviſe or to diſſuade; that of the Judicial, to accuſe or to defend. The chief ſubjects of Demonſtrative Eloquence, were Panegyrics, Invectives, Gratulatory and Funeral Orations. The Deliberative was employed in matters of public concern, agitated in the Senate, or before the Aſſemblies of the People. The Judicial is the ſame with the Eloquence of

of the Bar, employed in addreffing Judges, who have power to abfolve or to condemn. This divifion runs through all the ancient Treatifes on Rhetoric; and is followed by the moderns, who copy them. It is a divifion not inartificial; and comprehends moft, or all of the matters which can be the fubject of Public Difcourfe. It will, however, fuit our purpofe better, and be found, I imagine, more ufeful, to follow that divifion which the train of Modern Speaking naturally points out to us, taken from the three great fcenes of Eloquence, Popular Affemblies, the Bar, and the Pulpit; each of which has a diftinct character that particularly fuits it. This divifion coincides in part with the ancient one. The Eloquence of the Bar is precifely the fame with what the ancients called the Judicial. The Eloquence of Popular Affemblies, though moftly of what they term the Deliberative Species, yet admits alfo of the Demonftrative. The Eloquence of the Pulpit is altogether of a diftinct nature, and cannot be properly reduced under any of the heads of the ancient Rhetoricians.

To all the three, Pulpit, Bar, and Popular Affemblies, belong, in common, the rules concerning the conduct of a difcourfe in all its parts. Of thofe rules I purpofe afterwards to treat at large. But before proceeding to them, I intend to fhow, firft, what is peculiar to each of thefe three kinds of Oratory, in their fpirit, character, or manner. For every fpecies of Public Speaking has a manner or character peculiarly fuited to it; of which it is highly material to have a juft idea, in order to direct the application of general rules. The Eloquence of a Lawyer is fundamentally different from that of a Divine, or a Speaker in Parliament: and to have a precife and proper idea of the diftinguifh-

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ing character which any kind of Public Speaking requires, is the foundation of what is called a just taste in that kind of Speaking.

Laying aside any question concerning the pre-eminence in point of rank, which is due to any one of the three kinds before mentioned, I shall begin with that which tends to throw most light upon the rest, viz. the Eloquence of Popular Assemblies. The most august Theatre for this kind of Eloquence, to be found in any nation of Europe, is, beyond doubt, the Parliament of Great Britain. In meetings too, of less dignity, it may display itself. Wherever there is a popular court, or wherever any number of men are assembled for debate or consultation, there, in different forms, this species of Eloquence may take place.

Its object is, or ought always to be, Persuasion. There must be some end proposed; some point, most commonly of public utility or good, in favour of which we seek to determine the hearers. Now, in all attempts to persuade men, we must proceed upon this principle, that it is necessary to convince their understanding. Nothing can be more erroneous, than to imagine, that, because Speeches to Popular Assemblies admit more of a declamatory Style than some other discourses, they therefore stand less in need of being supported by sound reasoning. When modelled upon this false idea, they may have the show, but never can produce the effect, of real Eloquence. Even the show of Eloquence which they make, will please only the trifling and superficial. For, with all tolerable judges, indeed almost with all men, mere declamation soon becomes insipid. Of

whatever rank the hearers be, a Speaker is never to presume, that by a frothy and oſtentatious harangue, without ſolid ſenſe and argument, he can either make impreſſion on them, or acquire fame to himſelf. It is, at leaſt, a dangerous experiment; for, where ſuch an artifice ſucceeds once, it will fail ten times. Even the common people are better judges of argument and good ſenſe, than we ſometimes think them; and upon any queſtion of buſineſs, a plain man, who ſpeaks to the point without art, will generally prevail over the moſt artful Speaker who deals in flowers and ornament, rather than in reaſoning. Much more, when Public Speakers addreſs themſelves to any Aſſembly where there are perſons of education and improved underſtanding, they ought to be careful not to trifle with their hearers.

Let it be ever kept in view, that the foundation of all that can be called Eloquence, is good ſenſe, and ſolid thought. As popular as the Orations of Demoſthenes were, ſpoken to all the citizens of Athens, every one who looks into them, muſt ſee how fraught they are with argument; and how important it appeared to him, to convince the underſtanding, in order to perſuade, or to work on the principles of action. Hence their influence in his own time; hence their fame at this day. Such a pattern as this, Public Speakers ought to ſet before them for imitation, rather than follow the tract of thoſe looſe and frothy Declaimers, who have brought diſcredit on Eloquence. Let it be their firſt ſtudy, in addreſſing any Popular Aſſembly, to be previouſly maſters of the buſineſs on which they are to ſpeak; to be well provided with matter and argument; and to reſt upon theſe the chief ſtreſs. This will always give to their

LECT. XXVII.

discourse an air of manliness and strength, which is a powerful instrument of persuasion. Ornament, if they have genius for it, will follow of course; at any rate it demands only their secondary study: "Cura sit verborum; solicitudo rerum."—"To your "expression be attentive, but about your matter be solicitous," is an advice of Quinctilian, which cannot be too often recollected by all who study Oratory.

In the next place, in order to be persuasive Speakers in a Popular Assembly, it is, in my opinion, a capital rule, that we be ourselves persuaded of whatever we recommend to others. Never, when it can be avoided, ought we to espouse any side of the argument, but what we believe to be the true and the right one. Seldom or never will a man be eloquent, but when he is in earnest, and uttering his own sentiments. They are only the "veræ voces ab imo pectore," the unassumed language of the heart or head, that carry the force of conviction. In a former Lecture, when entering on this subject, I observed, that all high Eloquence must be the offspring of passion, or warm emotion. It is this which makes every man persuasive; and gives a force to his genius, which it possesses at no other time. Under what disadvantage then is he placed, who, not feeling what he utters, must counterfeit a warmth to which he is a stranger?

I know, that young people, on purpose to train themselves to the Art of Speaking, imagine it useful to adopt that side of the question under debate, which, to themselves, appears the weakest, and to try what figure they can make upon it. But, I am afraid, this is not the most improving education for Public

Speaking;

Speaking; and that it tends to form them to a habit of flimſy and trivial diſcourſe. Such a liberty they ſhould, at no time, allow themſelves, unleſs in meetings where no real buſineſs is carried on, but where declamation and improvement in Speech is the ſole aim. Nor even in ſuch meetings, would I recommend it as the moſt uſeful exerciſe. They will improve themſelves to more advantage, and acquit themſelves with more honour, by chooſing always that ſide of the debate to which, in their own judgment, they are moſt inclined, and ſupporting it by what ſeems to themſelves moſt ſolid and perſuaſive. They will acquire the habit of reaſoning cloſely, and expreſſing themſelves with warmth and force, much more when they are adhering to their own ſentiments, than when they are ſpeaking in contradiction to them. In aſſemblies where any real buſineſs is carried on, whether that buſineſs be of much importance or not, it is always of dangerous conſequence for young practitioners to make trial of this ſort of play of Speech. It may fix an imputation on their characters before they are aware; and what they intended merely as amuſement, may be turned to the diſcredit, either of their principles or their underſtanding.

Debate, in Popular Courts, ſeldom allows the Speaker that full and accurate preparation before hand, which the Pulpit always, and the Bar ſometimes, admits. The arguments muſt be ſuited to the courſe which the Debate takes; and as no man can exactly foreſee this, one who truſts to a ſet Speech, compoſed in his cloſet, will, on many occaſions, be thrown out of the ground which he had taken. He will find it pre-occupied by others, or his reaſonings ſuperſeded by ſome new turn of the buſineſs; and, if he ventures to uſe his prepared Speech,

it will be frequently at the hazard of making an awkward figure. There is a general prejudice with us, and not wholly an unjust one, against set Speeches in Public Meetings. The only occasion, when they have any propriety, is, at the opening of a debate, when the Speaker has it in his power to choose his field. But as the Debate advances, and parties warm, discourses of this kind become more unsuitable. They want the native air; the appearance of being suggested by the business that is going on; study and ostentation are apt to be visible; and, of course, though applauded as elegant, they are seldom so persuasive as more free and unconstrained discourses.

This, however, does not by any means conclude against premeditation of what we are to say; the neglect of which, and the trusting wholly to extemporaneous efforts, will unavoidably produce the habit of speaking in a loose and undigested manner. But the premeditation which is of most advantage, in the case which we now consider, is of the subject or argument in general, rather than of nice composition on any particular branch of it. With regard to the matter, we cannot be too accurate in our preparation, so as to be fully masters of the business under consideration; but, with regard to words and expression, it is very possible so far to overdo, as to render our Speech stiff and precise. Indeed, till once persons acquire that firmness, that presence of mind, and command of expression, in a Public Meeting, which nothing but habit and practice can bestow, it may be proper for a young Speaker to commit to memory the whole of what he is to say. But, after some performances of this kind have given him boldness, he will find it the better method not to confine himself so strictly;

ly; but only to write, beforehand, some Sentences with which he intends to set out, in order to put himself fairly in the train; and, for the rest, to set down short notes of the topics, or principal thoughts upon which he is to insist, in their order, leaving the words to be suggested by the warmth of discourse. Such short notes of the substance of the discourse, will be found of considerable service, to those, especially, who are beginning to speak in public. They will accustom them to some degree of accuracy, which, if they speak frequently, they are in danger too soon of losing. They will even accustom them to think more closely on the subject in question; and will assist them greatly in arranging their thoughts with method and order.

This leads me next to observe, that in all kinds of Public Speaking, nothing is of greater consequence than a proper and clear method. I mean not that formal method of laying down heads and subdivisions, which is commonly practised in the Pulpit; and which, in Popular Assemblies, unless the Speaker be a man of great authority and character, and the subject of great importance, and the preparation too very accurate, is rather in hazard of disgusting the hearers: such an introduction presenting always the melancholy prospect of a long discourse. But though the method be not laid down in form, no discourse, of any length, should be without method; that is, every thing should be found in its proper place. Every one who speaks, will find it of the greatest advantage to himself to have previously arranged his thoughts, and classed under proper heads, in his own mind, what he is to deliver. This will assist his memory, and carry him through his discourse, without that confusion to

which

LECT. XXVII.

which one is every moment ſubject, who has fixed no diſtinct plan of what he is to ſay. And with reſpect to the hearers, order in diſcourſe is abſolutely neceſſary for making any proper impreſſion. It adds both force and light to what is ſaid. It makes them accompany the Speaker eaſily and readily, as he goes along; and makes them feel the full effect of every argument which he employs. Few things, therefore, deſerve more to be attended to than diſtinct arrangement: for Eloquence, however great, can never produce entire conviction without it. Of the rules of method, and the proper diſtribution of the ſeveral parts of a diſcourſe, I am hereafter to treat.

Let us now conſider of the Style and Expreſſion ſuited to the Eloquence of Popular Aſſemblies. Beyond doubt, theſe give ſcope for the moſt animated manner of Public Speaking. The very aſpect of a large Aſſembly, engaged in ſome debate of moment, and attentive to the diſcourſe of one man, is ſufficient to inſpire that man with ſuch elevation and warmth, as both gives riſe to ſtrong expreſſions, and gives them propriety. Paſſion eaſily riſes in a great Aſſembly, where the movements are communicated by mutual ſympathy between the Orator and the Audience. Thoſe bold figures, of which I treated formerly as the native Language of paſſion, then have their proper place. That ardour of Speech, that vehemence and glow of Sentiment, which ariſe from a mind animated and inſpired by ſome great and public object, form the peculiar characteriſtics of Popular Eloquence, in its higheſt degree of perfection.

The liberty, however, which we are now giving of the ſtrong and paſſionate manner to this kind of Oratory, muſt be

 always

always underſtood with certain limitations and reſtraints, which, it will be neceſſary to point out diſtinctly, in order to guard againſt dangerous miſtakes on this ſubject.

As firſt, The warmth which we expreſs muſt be ſuited to the occaſion and the ſubject: for nothing can be more prepoſterous, than an attempt to introduce great vehemence into a ſubject, which is either of ſlight importance, or which, by its nature, requires to be treated of calmly. A temperate tone of Speech, is that for which there is moſt frequent occaſion; and he who is, on every ſubject, paſſionate and vehement, will be conſidered as a bluſterer, and meet with little regard.

In the ſecond place, We muſt take care never to counterfeit warmth without feeling it. This always betrays perſons into an unnatural manner, which expoſes them to ridicule. For, as I have often ſuggeſted, to ſupport the appearance, without the real feeling of paſſion, is one of the moſt difficult things in nature. The diſguiſe can almoſt never be ſo perfect, but it is diſcovered. The heart can only anſwer to the heart. The great rule here, as indeed in every other caſe, is, to follow nature; never to attempt a ſtrain of Eloquence which is not ſeconded by our own genius. One may be a Speaker, both of much reputation and much influence, in the calm argumentative manner. To attain the pathetic, and the ſublime of Oratory, requires thoſe ſtrong ſenſibilities of mind, and that high power of expreſſion, which are given to few.

In the third place, Even when the ſubject juſtifies the vehement manner, and when genius prompts it; when warmth is felt,

LECT. XXVII. felt, not counterfeited; we muſt, however, ſet a guard on ourſelves, not to allow impetuoſity to tranſport us too far. Without emotion in the ſpeaker, Eloquence, as was before obſerved, will never produce its higheſt effects; but, at the ſame time, if the Speaker loſe command of himſelf, he will ſoon loſe command of his audience too. He muſt never kindle too ſoon: he muſt begin with moderation; and ſtudy to carry his hearers along with him, as he warms in the progreſs of his diſcourſe. For, if he runs before in the courſe of paſſion, and leaves them behind; if they are not tuned, if we may ſpeak ſo, uniſon to him, the diſcord will preſently be felt, and be very grating. Let a Speaker have never ſo good reaſon to be animated and fired by his ſubject, it is always expected of him, that the awe and regard due to his Audience ſhould lay a decent reſtraint upon his warmth, and prevent it from carrying him beyond certain bounds. If, when moſt heated by the ſubject, he can be ſo far maſter of himſelf as to preſerve cloſe attention to argument, and even to ſome degree of correct expreſſion, this ſelf-command, this exertion of reaſon, in the midſt of paſſion, has a wonderful effect both to pleaſe, and to perſuade. It is indeed the maſter-piece, the higheſt attainment of Eloquence; uniting the ſtrength of reaſon, with the vehemence of paſſion; affording all the advantages of paſſion for the purpoſe of perſuaſion, without the confuſion and diſorder which are apt to accompany it.

In the fourth place, in the higheſt and moſt animated ſtrain of popular ſpeaking, we muſt always preſerve regard to what the public ear will bear. This direction I give, in order to guard againſt an injudicious imitation of ancient Orators, who, both in their pronunciation and geſture, and in their figures of

 expreſſion,

expreſſion, uſed a bolder manner than what the greater coolneſs of modern taſte will readily ſuffer. This may perhaps, as I formerly obſerved, be a diſadvantage to Modern Eloquence. It is no reaſon why we ſhould be too ſevere in checking the impulſe of genius, and continue always creeping on the ground; but it is a reaſon, however, why we ſhould avoid carrying the tone of declamation to a height that would now be reckoned extravagant. Demoſthenes, to juſtify the unſucceſsful action of Cheronæa, calls up the manes of thoſe heroes who fell in the battle of Marathon and Platæa, and ſwears by them, that their fellow citizens had done well, in their endeavours to ſupport the ſame cauſe. Cicero, in his oration for Milo, implores and atteſts the Alban hills and groves, and makes a long addreſs to them: and both paſſages, in theſe Orators, have a fine effect *. But how few modern Orators could venture on ſuch apoſtrophes? and what a power of genius would it require to give

* The paſſage in Cicero is very beautiful, and adorned with the higheſt colouring of his Eloquence. "Non eſt humano conſilio, ne mediocri quidem, "Judices, deorum immortalium cura, res illa perfecta. Religiones, mehercule, ipſæ aræque cum illam belluam cadere viderunt, commoviſſe ſe videntur, et jus in illo ſuum retinuiſſe. Vos enim jam Albani tumuli, atque "luci, vos inquam imploro atque obteſtor, voſque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, "ſacrorum populi Romani ſociæ et equales, quas ille præceps amentiâ, cæſis "proſtratiſque, ſanctiſſimis lucis, ſubſtructionum inſanis molibus oppreſſerat; "veſtræ tum aræ, veſtræ religiones viguerunt, veſtra vis valuit, quam ille "omni ſcelere polluerat. Tuque ex tuo edito monte Latiali, ſancte Jupiter, "cujus ille lacus, nemora, fineſque, ſæpe omni nefario ſtupro, ſcelere macularat, aliquando ad eum puniendum, oculos aperuiſti; vobis illæ, vobis veſtro "in conſpectu, ſeræ, ſed juſtæ tamen, & debitæ pœnæ ſolutæ ſunt."

LECT. XXVII. ſuch figures now their proper grace, or make them produce a due effect upon the hearers?

In the fifth and laſt place, in all kinds of Public Speaking, but eſpecially in Popular Aſſemblies, it is a capital rule to attend to all the decorums of time, place, and character. No warmth of Eloquence can atone for the neglect of theſe. That vehemence, which is becoming in a perſon of character and authority, may be unſuitable to the modeſty expected from a young Speaker. That ſportive and witty manner which may ſuit one ſubject and one Aſſembly, is altogether out of place in a grave cauſe, and a ſolemn meeting. "Caput artis eſt," ſays Quinctilian, "decere." "The firſt principle of art, is, to obſerve decorum." No one ſhould ever riſe to ſpeak in public, without forming to himſelf a juſt and ſtrict idea of what ſuits his own age and character; what ſuits the ſubject, the hearers, the place, the occaſion; and adjuſting the whole train and manner of his ſpeaking on this idea. All the ancients inſiſt much on this. Conſult the firſt chapter of the eleventh book of Quinctilian, which is employed wholly on this point, and is full of good ſenſe. Cicero's admonitions in his Orator ad Brutum, I ſhall give in his own words, which ſhould never be forgotten by any who ſpeak in public. "Eſt Eloquentiæ, ſicut reliquarum rerum, fundamentum, ſapientia; ut enim in vita, ſic in oratione nihil eſt "difficilius quam quod deceat videre; hujus ignoratione ſæpiſſime peccatur; non enim omnis fortuna, non omnis auctoritas, non omnis ætas, nec vero locus, aut tempus, aut auditor omnis, eodem aut verborum genere tractandus eſt, aut ſententiarum. Semperque in omni parte orationis, ut vitæ,

"quid

"quid deceat considerandum; quod et in re de qua agitur po- "situm est, et in personis et eorum qui dicunt, et eorum qui "audiunt *."—So much for the considerations that require to be attended to, with respect to the vehemence and warmth which is allowed in Popular Eloquence.

THE current of Style should in general be full, free, and natural. Quaint and artificial expressions are out of place here; and always derogate from persuasion. It is a strong and manly Style which should chiefly be studied; and metaphorical Language, when properly introduced, produces often a happy effect. When the metaphors are warm, glowing, and descriptive, some inaccuracy in them will be overlooked, which, in a written composition, would be remarked and censured. Amidst the torrent of declamation, the strength of the figure makes impression; the inaccuracy of it escapes.

WITH regard to the degree of conciseness or diffuseness, suited to Popular Eloquence, it is not easy to fix any exact bounds. I know that it is common to recommend a diffuse manner as the most proper. I am inclined, however, to think,

* "Good sense is the foundation of Eloquence, as it is of all other things "that are valuable. It happens in Oratory exactly as it does in life, that fre- "quently nothing is more difficult than to discern what is proper and becom- "ing. In consequence of mistaking this, the grossest faults are often com- "mitted. For to the different degrees of rank, fortune, and age among men, "to all the varieties of time, place, and auditory, the same Style of Language, "and the same strain of thought, cannot agree. In every part of a discourse, "just as in every part of life, we must attend to what is suitable and de- "cent; whether that be determined by the nature of the subject of which we "treat, or by the characters of those who speak, or of those who hear."

LECT. XXVII.

that there is danger of erring in this respect; and that by indulging too much in the diffuse Style, public Speakers often lose more in point of strength, than they gain by the fullness of their illustration. There is no doubt, that in speaking to a multitude, we must not speak in sentences and apothegms; care must be taken to explain and to inculcate; but this care may be, and frequently is, carried too far. We ought always to remember, that how much soever we may be pleased with hearing ourselves speak, every Audience is very ready to tire; and the moment they begin to tire, all our Eloquence goes for nothing. A loose and verbose manner never fails to create disgust; and, on most occasions, we had better run the risque of saying too little, than too much. Better place our thought in one strong point of view, and rest it there, than by turning it into every light, and, pouring forth a profusion of words upon it, exhaust the attention of our hearers, and leave them flat and languid.

Of Pronunciation and Delivery, I am hereafter to treat apart. It is sufficient now to observe, that in speaking to mixt Assemblies, the best manner of delivery is the firm and the determined. An arrogant and overbearing manner is indeed always disagreeable; and the least appearance of it ought to be shunned: but there is a certain decisive tone, which may be assumed even by a modest man, who is thoroughly persuaded of the sentiments he utters; and which is the best calculated for making a general impression. A feeble and hesitating manner bespeaks always some distrust of a man's own opinion; which is, by no means, a favourable circumstance for his inducing others to embrace it.

These

These are the chief thoughts which have occurred to me from reflection and observation, concerning the peculiar distinguishing Characters of the Eloquence proper for Popular Assemblies. The sum of what has been said, is this: The end of Popular Speaking is persuasion; and this must be founded on conviction. Argument and reasoning must be the basis, if we would be Speakers of business, and not mere Declaimers. We should be engaged in earnest on the side which we espouse; and utter, as much as possible, our own, and not counterfeited Sentiments. The premeditation should be of things, rather than of words. Clear order and method should be studied: The manner and expression warm and animated; though still, in the midst of that vehemence, which may at times be suitable, carried on under the proper restraints which regard to the audience, and to the decorum of character, ought to lay on every Public Speaker: the Style free and easy; strong and descriptive, rather than diffuse; and the delivery determined and firm. To conclude this head, let every Orator remember, that the impression made by fine and artful speaking is momentary; that made by argument and good sense, is solid and lasting.

I shall now, that I may afford an exemplification of that species of Oratory of which I have been treating, insert some extracts from Demosthenes. Even under the great disadvantage of an English translation, they will exhibit a small specimen of that vigorous and spirited eloquence which I have so often praised. I shall take my extracts mostly from the Philippics and Olynthiacs, which were entirely popular Orations spoken to the general convention of the citizens of Athens: and, as the subject of both the Philippics, and the Olynthiacs, is the same, I shall not

confine

confine myself to one Oration, but shall join together passages taken from two or three of them; such as may show his general strain of speaking, on some of the chief branches of the subject. The subject in general is, to rouze the Athenians to guard against Philip of Macedon, whose growing power and crafty policy had by that time endangered, and soon after overwhelmed the liberties of Greece. The Athenians began to be alarmed; but their deliberations were slow, and their measures feeble; several of their favourite Orators having been gained by Philip's bribes to favour his cause. In this critical conjuncture of affairs Demosthenes arose. In the following manner he begins his first Philippic; which, like the exordiums of all his Orations, is simple and artless *.

"HAD we been convened, Athenians! on some new subject "of debate, I had waited till most of your usual counsellors "had declared their opinions. If I had approved of what was "proposed by them, I should have continued silent; if not, I "should then have attempted to speak my sentiments. But "since those very points on which these Speakers have oftentimes been heard already, are at this time to be considered; "though I have arisen first, I presume I may expect your pardon; for if they on former occasions had advised the proper "measures, you would not have found it needful to consult at "present.

"FIRST then, Athenians! however wretched the situation of "our affairs at present seems, it must not by any means be

* In the following extracts, Leland's translation is mostly followed.

"thought

LECT. XXVII.

"thought desperate. What I am now going to advance may "possibly appear a paradox; yet it is a certain truth, that our "past misfortunes afford a circumstance the most favourable of "all others to our future hopes*. And what is that? even "that our present difficulties are owing entirely to our total "indolence, and utter disregard of our own interest. For were "we thus situated, in spite of every effort which our duty de-"manded, then indeed we might regard our fortunes as abso-"lutely desperate. But now, Philip hath only conquered your "supineness and inactivity; the state he hath not conquered. "You cannot be said to be defeated; your force hath never "been exerted.

"If there is a man in this assembly who thinks that we must "find a formidable enemy in Philip, while he views on one hand "the numerous armies which surround him, and on the other, "the weakness of our state, despoiled of so much of its dominions, "I cannot deny that he thinks justly. Yet let him reflect on this; "there was a time, Athenians! when we possessed Pydna, Po-"tidœa, and Melthone, and all that country round; when "many of the states, now subjected to him, were free and inde-"pendent, and more inclined to our alliance than to his. If "Philip, at that time weak in himself and without allies, had de-"sponded of success against you, he would never have engaged "in those enterprises which are now crowned with success, nor "could have raised himself to that pitch of grandeur at which "you now behold him. But he knew well that the strongest

* This thought is only hinted in the first Philippic, but brought out more fully in the third; as the same thoughts, occasioned by similar situations of affairs, sometimes occur in the different orations on this subject.

LECT. XXVII.

"places are only prizes laid between the combatants, and ready "for the conqueror. He knew that the dominions of the ab-"sent, devolve naturally to those who are in the field; the pos-"sessions of the supine, to the active and intrepid. Animated "by these sentiments he overturns whole nations. He either "rules universally as a conqueror, or governs as a protector. "For mankind naturally seek confederacy with such, as they see "resolved and preparing not to be wanting to themselves.

"If you, my countrymen! will now at length be persuaded "to entertain the like sentiments; if each of you will be disposed "to approve himself an useful citizen, to the utmost that his sta-"tion and abilities enable him; if the rich will be ready to con-"tribute, and the young to take the field; in one word, if you "will be yourselves, and banish these vain hopes which every "single person entertains, that the active part of public business "may lie upon others and he remain at his ease; you may "then, by the assistance of the Gods, recal those opportunities "which your supineness hath neglected, regain your dominions, "and chastise the insolence of this man.

"But when, O my countrymen! will you begin to exert "your vigour? Do you wait till roused by some dire event? till "forced by some necessity? What then are we to think of our "present condition? To free men, the disgrace attending on "misconduct is, in my opinion, the most urgent necessity. Or "say, is it your sole ambition to wander through the public "places, each enquiring of the other, "What new advices?" "Can any thing be more new, than that a man of Macedon "should conquer the Athenians, and give law to Greece?" "Is

"Philip

" Philip dead?"—" No—but he is ſick." Pray, what is it to " you whether Philip is ſick or not? Suppoſing he ſhould die, " you would raiſe up another Philip, if you continue thus re- " gardleſs of your intereſt. LECT. XXVII.

" MANY, I know, delight more in nothing than in circulating " all the rumours they hear as articles of intelligence. Some " cry, Philip hath joined with the Lacedæmonians, and they are " concerting the deſtruction of Thebes. Others aſſure us, he " hath ſent an embaſſy to the King of Perſia; others, that he " is fortifying places in Illyria. Thus we all go about framing " our ſeveral tales. I do believe indeed, Athenians! that he is " intoxicated with his greatneſs, and does entertain his imagina- " tion with many ſuch viſionary projects, as he ſees no power " riſing to oppoſe him. But I cannot be perſuaded that he " hath ſo taken his meaſures, that the weakeſt amongſt us (for " the weakeſt they are who ſpread ſuch rumours) know what " he is next to do. Let us diſregard theſe tales. Let us only " be perſuaded of this, that he is our enemy; that we have long " been ſubject to his inſolence; that whatever we expected to " have been done for us by others, hath turned againſt us; that " all the reſource left, is in ourſelves; and that if we are not " inclined to carry our arms abroad, we ſhall be forced to en- " gage him at home. Let us be perſuaded of theſe things, and " then we ſhall come to a proper determination, and be no " longer guided by rumours. We need not be ſolicitous to " know what particular events are to happen. We may be " well aſſured that nothing good can happen, unleſs we give due " attention to our own affairs, and act as becomes Athenians.

LECT. XXVII.

"WERE it a point generally acknowledged * that Philip is "now at actual war with the ftate, the only thing under delibe-"ration would then be, how to oppofe him with moft fafety. "But fince there are perfons fo ftrangely infatuated, that al-"though he has already poffeffed himfelf of a confiderable part "of our dominions; although he is ftill extending his con-"quefts; although all Greece has fuffered by his injuftice; yet "they can hear it repeated in this Affembly, that it is fome of "us who feek to embroil the State in war, this fuggeftion muft "firft be guarded againft. I readily admit, that were it in our "power to determine whether we fhould be at peace or war, "peace, if it depended on our option, is moft defirable to be "embraced. But if the other party hath drawn the fword, and "gathered his armies round him; if he amufes us with the "name of peace, while, in fact, he is proceeding to the greateft "hoftilities, what is left for us but to oppofe him? If any man "takes that for a peace, which is only a preparation for his "leading his forces directly upon us, after his other conquefts, "I hold that man's mind to be difordered. At leaft, it is only "our conduct towards Philip, not Philip's conduct towards us, "that is to be termed a peace; and this is the peace for which "Philip's treafures are expended, for which his gold is fo libe-"rally fcattered among our venal orators, that he may be at "liberty to carry on the war againft you, while you make no "war on him.

"HEAVENS! is there any man of a right mind who would "judge of peace or war by words, and not by actions? Is there

* Phil. iii.

"any

LECT. XXVII.

"any man ſo weak as to imagine that it is for the ſake of thoſe "paltry villages of Thrace, Drongylus, and Cabyle, and Maſtira, that Philip is now braving the utmoſt dangers, and enduring the ſeverity of toils and ſeaſons; and that he has no "deſigns upon the arſenals, and the navies, and the ſilver mines "of Athens? or that he will take up his winter quarters among "the cells and dungeons of Thrace, and leave you to enjoy all "your revenues in peace? But you wait, perhaps, till he declare "war againſt you.—He will never do ſo—no, though he were "at your gates. He will ſtill be aſſuring you that he is not "at war. Such were his profeſſions to the people of Oreum, "when his forces were in the heart of their country; ſuch his "profeſſions to thoſe of Pheræ, until the moment he attacked "their walls: and thus he amuſed the Olynthians till he came "within a few miles of them, and then he ſent them a meſſage, that either they muſt quit their city, or he his kingdom. "He would indeed be the abſurdeſt of mankind, if, while you "ſuffer his outrages to paſs unnoticed, and are wholly engaged "in accuſing and proſecuting one another, he ſhould, by declaring war, put an end to your private conteſts, warn you to "direct all your zeal againſt him, and deprive his penſioners of "their moſt ſpecious pretence for ſuſpending your reſolutions, "that of his not being at war with the State. I, for my part, "hold and declare, that by his attack of the Megaræans, by his "attempts upon the liberty of Eubæa, by his late incurſions "into Thrace, by his practices in Peloponneſus, Philip has violated the treaty; he is in a ſtate of hoſtility with you; unleſs "you ſhall affirm, that he who prepares to beſiege a city, is ſtill at "peace, until the walls be actually inveſted. The man whoſe "deſigns, whoſe whole conduct tends to reduce me to ſubjec-

"tion, that man is at war with me, though not a blow hath "yet been given, nor a ſword drawn.

"ALL Greece, all the barbarian world, is too narrow for this "man's ambition. And, though we Greeks ſee and hear all "this, we ſend no embaſſies to each other; we expreſs no "reſentment; but into ſuch wretchedneſs are we ſunk, that "even, to this day, we neglect what our intereſt and duty "demand. Without engaging in aſſociations, or forming con- "federacies, we look with unconcern upon Philip's growing "power; each fondly imagining, that the time in which "another is deſtroyed, is ſo much time gained to him; al- "though no man can be ignorant, that, like the regular "periodic return of a fever, he is coming upon thoſe who "think themſelves the moſt remote from danger.—And what "is the cauſe of our preſent paſſive diſpoſition? For ſome cauſe "ſure there muſt be, why the Greeks, who have been ſo "zealous heretofore in defence of liberty, are now ſo prone to "ſlavery. The cauſe, Athenians! is, that a principle, which "was formerly fixed in the minds of all, now exiſts no more; "a principle which conquered the opulence of Perſia; main- "tained the freedom of Greece, and triumphed over the powers "of ſea and land. That principle was, an unanimous abhor- "rence of all thoſe who accepted bribes from princes, that "were enemies to the liberties of Greece. To be convicted "of bribery, was then a crime altogether unpardonable. "Neither Orators, nor Generals, would then ſell for gold the "favourable conjunctures which fortune put into their hands. "No gold could impair our firm concord at home, our hatred "and diffidence of tyrants and barbarians. But now all things

"are

"are exposed to sale, as in a public market. Corruption has "introduced such manners, as have proved the bane and de- "struction of our country. Is a man known to have received "foreign money? People envy him. Does he own it? They "laugh. Is he convicted in form? They forgive him: so "universally has this contagion diffused itself among us.

"If there be any who, though not carried away by bribes, yet "are struck with terror, as if Philip was something more than "human, they may see, upon a little consideration, that he "hath exhausted all those artifices to which he owes his present "elevation; and that his affairs are now ready to decline. "For I myself, Athenians! should think Philip really to be "dreaded, if I saw him raised by honourable means.—When "forces join in harmony and affection, and one common in- "terest unites confederating powers, then they share the toils "with alacrity, and endure distresses with perseverance. But "when extravagant ambition, and lawless power, as in the case "of Philip, have aggrandized a single person, the first pretence, "the slightest accident, overthrows him, and dashes his greatness "to the ground. For, it is not possible, Athenians! it is not "possible, to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury, and "treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once, and borrow "for a while, from hope, a gay and a flourishing appearance. "But time betrays their weakness, and they fall of themselves "to ruin. For, as in structures of every kind, the lower "parts should have the firmest stability, so the grounds and "principles of great enterprizes should be justice and truth. "But this solid foundation is wanting to all the enterprises of "Philip.

LECT. XXVII.

"HENCE, among his confederates, there are many who "hate, who distrust, who envy him. If you will exert your-"selves, as your honour and your interest require, you will "not only discover the weakness and insincerity of his con-"federates, but the ruinous condition also of his own king-"dom. For you are not to imagine, that the inclinations of "his subjects are the same with those of their prince. He thirsts "for glory; but they have no part in this ambition. Harassed "by those various excursions he is ever making, they groan "under perpetual calamity; torn from their business and their "families; and beholding commerce excluded from their coasts. "All those glaring exploits, which have given him his apparent "greatness, have wasted his natural strength, his own king-"dom, and rendered it much weaker than it originally was. "Besides, his profligacy and baseness, and those troops of "buffoons, and dissolute persons, whom he caresses and keeps "constantly about him, are, to men of just discernment, great "indications of the weakness of his mind. At present, his "successes cast a shade over these things; but let his arms meet "with the least disgrace, his feebleness will appear, and his "character be exposed. For, as in our bodies, while a man "is in apparent health, the effect of some inward debility, "which has been growing upon him, may, for a time, be "concealed; but, as soon as it comes the length of disease, all "his secret infirmities show themselves, in whatever part of his "frame the disorder is lodged: so, in states and monarchies, "while they carry on a war abroad, many defects escape the "general eye; but, as soon as war reaches their own territory, "their infirmities come forth to general observation.

"FORTUNE

“ Fortune has great influence in all human affairs; but “ I, for my part, ſhould prefer the fortune of Athens, with the “ leaſt degree of vigour in aſſerting your cauſe, to this man's “ fortune. For we have many better reaſons to depend upon “ the favour of Heaven than this man. But, indeed, he who “ will not exert his own ſtrength, hath no title to depend eithe “ on his friends, or on the Gods. Is it at all ſurpriſing that “ he, who is himſelf ever amidſt the labours and dangers of “ the field; who is every where; whom no opportunity “ eſcapes; to whom no ſeaſon is unfavourable; ſhould be ſu-“ perior to you, who are wholly engaged in contriving delays, “ and framing decrees, and enquiring after news? The contrary “ would be much more ſurpriſing, if we, who have never “ hitherto acted as became a ſtate engaged in war, ſhould con-“ quer one who acts, in every inſtance, with indefatigable vi-“ gilance. It is this, Athenians! it is this which gives him “ all his advantage againſt you. Philip, conſtantly ſurround-“ ed by his troops, and perpetually engaged in projecting “ his deſigns, can, in a moment, ſtrike the blow where he “ pleaſes. But we, when any accident alarms us, firſt appoint “ our Trierarchs; then we allow them the exchange by ſubſti-“ tution: then the ſupplies are conſidered; next, we reſolve “ to man our fleet with ſtrangers and foreigners; then find it “ neceſſary to ſupply their place ourſelves. In the midſt of “ theſe delays, what we are failing to defend, the enemy is “ already maſter of; for the time of action is ſpent by us in “ preparing; and the iſſues of war will not wait for our ſlow “ and irreſolute meaſures.

LECT. XXVII.

"Consider then your present situation, and make such "provision as the urgent danger requires. Talk not of your "ten thousands, or your twenty thousand foreigners; of those "armies which appear so magnificent on paper only; great "and terrible in your decrees, in execution weak and con-"temptible. But let your army be made up chiefly of the "native forces of the state; let it be an Athenian strength to "which you are to trust; and whomsoever you appoint as "general, let them be entirely under his guidance and autho-"rity. For, ever since our armies have been formed of "foreigners alone, their victories have been gained over our "allies and confederates only, while our enemies have risen to "an extravagance of power."

The Orator goes on to point out the number of forces which should be raised; the places of their destination; the season of the year in which they should set out; and then proposes in form his motion, as we would call it, or his decree, for the necessary supply of money, and for ascertaining the funds from which it should be raised. Having finished all that relates to the business under deliberation, he concludes these Orations on public affairs, commonly with no longer peroration than the following, which terminates the First Philippic: "I, for my "part, have never, upon any occasion, chosen to court your "favour, by speaking any thing but what I was convinced "would serve you. And, on this occasion, you have heard my "sentiments freely declared, without art, and without reserve. "I should have been pleased, indeed, that, as it is for your "advantage to have your true interest laid before you, so I "might have been assured, that he who layeth it before you

"would

"would ſhare the advantage. But, uncertain as I know the "conſequence to be with reſpect to myſelf, I yet determined "to ſpeak, becauſe, I was convinced, that theſe meaſures, if "purſued, muſt prove beneficial to the Public. And, of all "thoſe opinions which ſhall be offered to your acceptance, may "the Gods determine that to be choſen which will beſt advance "the general welfare!"

LECT. XXVII.

THESE Extracts may ſerve to give ſome imperfect idea of the manner of Demoſthenes. For a juſter and more complete one, recourſe muſt be had to the excellent original.

LECTURE XXVIII.

ELOQUENCE OF THE BAR—ANALYSIS OF CICERO's ORATION FOR CLUENTIUS.

LECT. XXVIII.

I TREATED in the laſt Lecture, of what is peculiar to the Eloquence of Popular Aſſemblies. Much of what was ſaid on that head is applicable to the Eloquence of the Bar, the next great ſcene of Public Speaking to which I now proceed, and my obſervations upon which, will therefore be the ſhorter. All, however, that was ſaid in the former Lecture muſt not be applied to it; and it is of importance, that I begin with ſhowing where the diſtinction lies.

In the firſt place, The ends of ſpeaking at the Bar, and in Popular Aſſemblies, are commonly different. In Popular Aſſemblies, the great object is perſuaſion; the Orator aims at determining the hearers to ſome choice or conduct, as good, fit, or uſeful. For accompliſhing this end, it is incumbent on him to apply himſelf to all the principles of action in our nature;

to

to the paſſions and to the heart, as well as to the underſtanding. LECT. XXVIII. But, at the Bar conviction is the great object. There, it is not the Speaker's buſineſs to perſuade the Judges to what is good or uſeful, but to ſhow them what is juſt and true; and, of courſe, it is chiefly, or ſolely, to the underſtanding that his Eloquence is addreſſed. This is a characteriſtical difference which ought ever to be kept in view.

In the next place, Speakers at the Bar addreſs themſelves to one, or to a few Judges, and theſe, too, perſons generally of age, gravity, and authority of character. There, they have not thoſe advantages which a mixed and numerous Aſſembly affords for employing all the arts of Speech, even ſuppoſing their ſubject to admit them. Paſſion does not riſe ſo eaſily; the Speaker is heard more coolly; he is watched over more ſeverely; and would expoſe himſelf to ridicule, by attempting that high vehement tone, which is only proper in ſpeaking to a multitude.

In the laſt place, The [illegible]re and managemen[illegible] of the ſubjects which belong to the Bar, require a very different ſpecies of Oratory from that of Popular Aſſemblies. In the latter, the Speaker has a much wider range. He is ſeldom confined to any preciſe rule; he can fetch his topics from a great variety of quarters; and employ every illuſtration which his fancy or imagination ſuggeſt. But, at the Bar, the field of ſpeaking is limited to preciſe law and ſtatute. Imagination is not allowed to take its ſcope. The Advocate has always lying before him the line, the ſquare, and the compaſs. Theſe, it is his princi-

pal business to be continually applying to the subjects under debate.

For these reasons, it is clear, that the Eloquence of the Bar is of a much more limited, more sober and chastened kind, than that of Popular Assemblies; and, for similar reasons, we must beware of considering even the judicial Orations of Cicero or Demosthenes, as exact models of the manner of speaking which is adapted to the present state of the Bar. It is necessary to warn young Lawyers of this; because, though these were Pleadings spoken in civil or criminal causes, yet, in fact, the nature of the Bar antiently, both in Greece and Rome, allowed a much nearer approach to Popular Eloquence, than what it now does. This was owing chiefly to two causes:

First, Because in the ancient Judicial Orations, strict law was much less an object of attention than it is become among us. In the days of Demosthenes and Cicero, the municipal statutes were few, simple, and general; and the decision of causes was trusted, in a great measure, to the equity and common sense of the Judges. Eloquence, much [illegible] than Jurisprudence, was the study of those who were to plead causes. Cicero somewhere says, that three months study was sufficient to make any man a complete Civilian; nay, it was thought that one might be a good Pleader at the Bar, who had never studied law at all. For there were among the Romans a set of men called *Pragmatici*, whose office it was to give the Orator all the law knowledge which the cause he was to plead required, and which he put into that popular form, and dressed up with those colours of Eloquence,

Eloquence, that were moſt fitted for influencing the Judges before whom he ſpoke.

We may obſerve next, that the Civil and Criminal Judges, both in Greece and Rome, were commonly much more numerous than they are with us, and formed a ſort of Popular Aſſembly. The renowned tribunal of the Areopagus at Athens conſiſted of fifty judges at the leaſt *. Some make it to conſiſt of a great many more. When Socrates was condemned, by what court it is uncertain, we are informed that no fewer than 280 voted againſt him. In Rome, the Prætor, who was the proper Judge both in civil and criminal cauſes, named, for every cauſe of moment, the *Judices Selecti*, as they were called, who were always numerous, and had the office and power of both Judge and Jury. In the famous cauſe of Milo, Cicero ſpoke to fifty-one *Judices Selecti*, and ſo had the advantage of addreſſing his whole pleading, not to one or a few learned Judges of the point of law, as is the caſe with us, but to an Aſſembly of Roman citizens. Hence all thoſe arts of Popular Eloquence, which we find the Roman Orator ſo frequently employing, and probably with much ſucceſs. Hence tears and commiſeration are ſo often made uſe of as the inſtruments of gaining a cauſe. Hence certain practices, which would be reckoned theatrical among us, were common at the Roman Bar; ſuch as introducing not only the accuſed perſon dreſſed in deep mourning, but preſenting to the Judges his family, and his young children, endeavouring to move them by their cries and tears.

* Vide Potter. Antiq. vol. i. p. 102.

For these reasons, on account of the wide difference between the ancient and modern state of the Bar, to which we may add also the difference in the turn of ancient and modern Eloquence, which I formerly took notice of, too strict an imitation of Cicero's manner of pleading would now be extremely injudicious. To great advantage he may still be studied by every Speaker at the Bar. In the Address with which he opens his subject, and the insinuation he employs for gaining the favour of the Judges; in the distinct arrangement of his facts; in the gracefulness of his narration; in the conduct and exposition of his arguments, he may and he ought to be imitated. A higher pattern cannot be set before us; but one who should imitate him also in his exaggeration and amplifications, in his diffuse and pompous declamation, and in his attempts to raise passion, would now make himself almost as ridiculous at the Bar, as if he should appear there in the *Toga* of a Roman Lawyer.

Before I descend to more particular directions concerning the Eloquence of the Bar, I must be allowed to take notice, that the foundation of a Lawyer's reputation and success, must always be laid in a profound knowledge of his own profession. Nothing is of such consequence to him, or deserves more his deep and serious study. For whatever his abilities as a Speaker may be, if his knowledge of the law be reckoned superficial, few will chuse to commit their cause to him. Besides previous study, and a proper stock of knowledge attained, another thing highly material to the success of every Pleader, is, a diligent and painful attention to every cause with which he is intrusted, so as to be thoroughly master of all the facts and circumstances relating to it. On this the ancient Rhetoricians insist with great earnestness, and justly represent it as a necessary basis to all the Elo-

quence

quence that can be exerted in pleading. Cicero tells us (under the character of Antonius, in the second book De Oratore), that he always conversed at full length with every client who came to consult him; that he took care there should be no witness to their conversation, in order that his client might explain himself more freely; that he was wont to start every objection, and to plead the cause of the adverse party with him, that he might come at the whole truth, and be fully prepared on every point of the business; and that, after the client had retired, he used to balance all the facts with himself, under three different characters, his own, that of the Judge, and that of the Advocate on the opposite side. He censures very severely those of the profession who declined taking so much trouble; taxing them not only with shameful negligence, but with dishonesty and breach of trust *. To the same purpose Quinctilian, in the eighth chapter of his last book, delivers a great many excellent rules concerning all the methods which a Lawyer should employ for attaining the most thorough knowledge of the cause he is to plead; again and again recommending patience and attention in conversation with clients, and observing very sensibly, "Non tam "obest audire supervacua, quam ignorare necessaria. Frequen-"ter enim et vulnus, et remedium, in iis Orator inveniet quæ

* "Equidem soleo dare operam, ut de sua quisque re me ipse doceat; et ne-"quis alius adsit, quo liberius loquatur; et agere adversarii causam, ut ille "agat suam; et quicquid de sua re cogitaret, in medium proferat. Itaque "cùm ille decessit, tres personas unus sustineo, summâ animi equitate; meam, "adversarii, judicis.—Nonnulli dum operam suam multam existimari volunt, "ut toto foro volitare, et a causa ad causam ire videantur, causas dicunt in-"cognitas. In quo est illa quidem magna offensio, vel negligentiæ susceptis "rebus, vel perfidiæ receptis; sed etiam illa, major opinione, quod nemo po-"test de ea re quam non novit, non turpissimè dicere."

"litigatori

LECT. XXVIII.

"litigatori in neutram partem, habere momentum videban-"tur *."

Supposing an Advocate to be thus prepared, with all the knowledge which the ſtudy of the law in general, and of that cauſe which he is to plead in particular, can furniſh him, I muſt next obſerve, that Eloquence in pleading is of the higheſt moment for giving ſupport to a cauſe. It were altogether wrong to infer, that becauſe the ancient popular and vehement manner of pleading is now in a great meaſure ſuperſeded, there is therefore no room for Eloquence at the Bar, and that the ſtudy of it is become ſuperfluous. Though the manner of ſpeaking be changed, yet ſtill there is a right and a proper manner, which deſerves to be ſtudied as much as ever. Perhaps there is no ſcene of public ſpeaking where Eloquence is more neceſſary. For on other occaſions, the ſubject on which men ſpeak in public, is frequently ſufficient, by itſelf, to intereſt the hearers. But the dryneſs and ſubtilty of the ſubjects generally agitated at the Bar, require more than any other a certain kind of Eloquence in order to command attention; in order to give proper weight to the arguments that are employed, and to prevent any thing which the Pleader advances from paſſing unregarded. The effect of good ſpeaking is always very great. There is as much difference in the impreſſion made upon the hearers, by a cold, dry, and confuſed Speaker, and that made by one who

* "To liſten to ſomething that is ſuperfluous can do no hurt; whereas, to be "ignorant of ſomething that is material, may be highly prejudicial. The "Advocate will frequently diſcover the weak ſide of a cauſe, and learn, at the "ſame time, what is the proper defence, from circumſtances which, to the "party himſelf, appeared to be of little or no moment."

2 pleads

pleads the ſame cauſe with elegance, order, and ſtrength, as there is between our conception of an object, when it is preſented to us in a dim light, and when we behold it in a full and clear one.

It is no ſmall encouragement to Eloquence at the Bar, that of all the liberal profeſſions, none gives fairer play to genius and abilities than that of the Advocate. He is leſs expoſed than ſome others, to ſuffer by the arts of rivalry, by popular prejudices, or ſecret intrigues. He is ſure of coming forward according to his merit: For he ſtands forth every day to view; he enters the liſt boldly with his competitors; every appearance which he makes is an appeal to the Public, whoſe deciſion ſeldom fails of being juſt, becauſe it is impartial. Intereſt and friends may ſet forward a young Pleader with peculiar advantages beyond others, at the beginning; but they can do no more than open the field to him. A reputation reſting on theſe aſſiſtances will ſoon fall. Spectators remark, Judges decide, Parties watch; and to him will the multitude of Clients never fail to reſort, who gives the moſt approved ſpecimens of his knowledge, eloquence, and induſtry.

It muſt be laid down for a firſt principle, that the Eloquence ſuited to the Bar, whether in ſpeaking or in writing law papers, is of the calm and temperate kind, and connected with cloſe reaſoning. Sometimes a little play may be allowed to the Imagination, in order to enliven a dry ſubject, and to give relief to the fatigue of attention; but this liberty muſt be taken with a ſparing hand. For a Florid Style, and a ſparkling manner, never fail to make the Speaker be heard with a jealous ear by the

LECT. XXVIII. Judge. They detract from his weight, and always produce a ſuſpicion of his failing in ſoundneſs and ſtrength of argument. It is purity and neatneſs of expreſſion which is chiefly to be ſtudied; a Style perſpicuous and proper, which ſhall not be needleſsly overcharged with the pedantry of law terms, and where, at the ſame time, no affectation ſhall appear of avoiding theſe, when they are ſuitable and neceſſary.

VERBOSITY is a common fault, of which the gentlemen of this profeſſion are accuſed; and into which the habit of ſpeaking and writing ſo haſtily, and with ſo little preparation, as they are often obliged to do, almoſt unavoidably betrays them. It cannot, therefore, be too much recommended to thoſe who are beginning to practiſe at the Bar, that they ſhould early ſtudy to guard againſt this, while as yet they have full leiſure for preparation. Let them form themſelves, eſpecially in the papers which they write, to the habit of a ſtrong and a correct Style; which expreſſes the ſame thing much better in a few words, than is done by the accumulation of intricate and endleſs periods. If this habit be once acquired, it will become natural to them afterwards, when the multiplicity of buſineſs ſhall force them to compoſe in a more precipitant manner. Whereas, if the practice of a looſe and negligent Style has been ſuffered to become familiar, it will not be in their power, even upon occaſions when they wiſh to make an unuſual effort, to expreſs themſelves with energy and grace.

DISTINCTNESS is a capital property in ſpeaking at the Bar. This ſhould be ſhown chiefly in two things; firſt, in ſtating the queſtion; in ſhowing clearly what is the point in debate; what we

we admit; what we deny; and where the line of diviſion begins between us, and the adverſe party. Next, it ſhould be ſhown in the order and arrangement of all the parts of the pleading. In every ſort of Oration, a clear method is of the utmoſt conſequence; but in thoſe embroiled and difficult caſes which belong to the Bar, it is almoſt all in all. Too much pains, therefore, cannot be taken in previouſly ſtudying the plan and method. If there be indiſtinctneſs and diſorder there, we can have no ſucceſs in convincing; we leave the whole cauſe in darkneſs. LECT. XXVIII.

WITH reſpect to the conduct of Narration and Argumentation, I ſhall hereafter make ſeveral remarks, when I come to treat of the component parts of a regular Oration. I ſhall at preſent only obſerve, that the Narration of facts at the Bar, ſhould always be as conciſe as the nature of them will admit. Facts are always of the greateſt conſequence to be remembered during the courſe of the pleading; but, if the Pleader be tedious in his manner of relating them, and needleſsly circumſtantial, he lays too great a load upon the memory. Whereas, by cutting off all ſuperfluous circumſtances in his recital, he adds ſtrength to the material facts; he both gives a clearer view of what he relates, and makes the impreſſion of it more laſting. In Argumentation, again, I would incline to give ſcope to a more diffuſe manner at the Bar, than on ſome other occaſions. For in Popular Aſſemblies, where the ſubject of debate is often a plain queſtion, Arguments, taken from known topics, gain ſtrength by their conciſeneſs. But the obſcurity of law-points frequently requires the Arguments to be ſpread out, and placed in different lights, in order to be fully apprehended.

LECT. XXVIII.

WHEN the Pleader comes to refute the arguments employed by his adverſary, he ſhould be on his guard not to do them injuſtice, by diſguiſing, or placing them in a falſe light. The deceit is ſoon diſcovered: it will not fail of being expoſed; and tends to impreſs the Judge and the Hearers with diſtruſt of the Speaker, as one who either wants diſcernment to perceive, or wants fairneſs to admit, the ſtrength of the reaſoning on the other ſide. Whereas, when they ſee that he ſtates, with accuracy and candour, the Arguments which have been uſed againſt him, before he proceeds to combat them, a ſtrong prejudice is created in his favour. They are naturally led to think, that he has a clear and full conception of all that can be ſaid on both ſides of the Argument; that he has entire confidence in the goodneſs of his own cauſe; and does not attempt to ſupport it by any artifice or concealment. The Judge is thereby inclined to receive, much more readily, the impreſſions which are given him by a Speaker, who appears both ſo fair and ſo penetrating. There is no part of the diſcourſe, in which the Orator has greater opportunity of ſhowing a maſterly addreſs, than when he ſets himſelf to repreſent the reaſonings of his antagoniſts, in order to refute them.

WIT may ſometimes be of ſervice at the Bar, eſpecially in a lively reply, by which we may throw ridicule on ſomething that has been ſaid on the other ſide. But, though the reputation of wit be dazzling to a young Pleader, I would never adviſe him to reſt his ſtrength upon this talent. It is not his buſineſs to make an Audience laugh, but to convince the Judge; and ſeldom, or never, did any one riſe to eminence in his profeſſion, by being a witty Lawyer.

A PROPER degree of warmth in pleading a cauſe is always of uſe. Though, in ſpeaking to a multitude, greater vehemence be natural; yet, in addreſſing ourſelves even to a ſingle man, the warmth which ariſes from ſeriouſneſs and earneſtneſs, is one of the moſt powerful means of perſuading him. An Advocate perſonates his client; he has taken upon him the whole charge of his intereſts; he ſtands in his place. It is improper, therefore, and has a bad effect upon the cauſe, if he appears indifferent and unmoved; and few clients will be fond of truſting their intereſts in the hands of a cold Speaker.

AT the ſame time, he muſt beware of proſtituting his earneſtneſs and ſenſibility ſo much, as to enter with equal warmth into every cauſe that is committed to him, whether it can be ſuppoſed really to excite his zeal or not. There is a dignity of character, which it is of the utmoſt importance for every one in this profeſſion to ſupport. For it muſt never be forgotten, that there is no inſtrument of perſuaſion more powerful, than an opinion of probity and honour in the perſon who undertakes to perſuade *. It is ſcarcely poſſible for any hearer to ſeparate altogether the impreſſion made by the character of him that ſpeaks, from the things that he ſays. However ſecretly and imperceptibly, it will be always lending its weight to one ſide or other; either detracting from, or adding to, the authority and influence of his Speech. This opinion of honour and probity muſt therefore be carefully preſerved, both by ſome degree of delicacy in the choice of cauſes, and by the manner of conduct-

* "Plurimum ad omnia momenti eſt in hoc poſitum, ſi vir bonus creditur. "Sic enim contingit, ut non ſtudium advocati, videatur afferre, ſed pene teſtis "fidem." QUINCT. L. iv. C. 1.

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LECT. XXVIII. ing them. And though, perhaps, the nature of the profession may render it extremely difficult to carry this delicacy its utmost length, yet there are attentions to this point, which, as every good man for virtue's sake, so every prudent man for reputation's sake, will find to be necessary. He will always decline embarking in causes that are odious and manifestly unjust; and, when he supports a doubtful cause, he will lay the chief stress upon such arguments as appear to his own judgment the most tenable; reserving his zeal and his indignation for cases where injustice and iniquity are flagrant. But of the personal qualities and virtues requisite in Public Speakers, I shall afterwards have occasion to discourse.

These are the chief directions which have occurred to me concerning the peculiar strain of Speaking at the Bar. In order to illustrate the subject farther, I shall give a short Analysis of one of Cicero's Pleadings, or judicial Orations. I have chosen that, *pro Cluentio*. The celebrated one *pro Milone* is more laboured and showy; but it is too declamatory. That, *pro Cluentio* comes nearer the strain of a Modern Pleading; and though it has the disadvantage of being very long, and complicated too in the subject, yet it is one of the most chaste, correct, and forcible of all Cicero's judicial Orations, and well deserves attention for its conduct.

Avitus Cluentius, a Roman Knight of splendid family and fortunes, had accused his Stepfather Oppianicus of an attempt to poison him. He prevailed in the prosecution; Oppianicus was condemned and banished. But as rumours arose of the Judges having been corrupted by money in this cause, these

gave

gave occaſion to much popular clamour, and had thrown a heavy odium on Cluentius. Eight years afterwards Oppianicus died. An accuſation was brought againſt Cluentius of having poiſoned him, together with a charge alſo of having bribed the Judges in the former trial to condemn him. In this action Cicero defends him. The accuſers were Saſſia, the mother of Cluentius, and widow of Oppianicus, and young Oppianicus, the ſon. Q. Naſo, the Prætor, was Judge, together with a conſiderable number of *Judices Selecti*.

The introduction of the Oration is ſimple and proper, taken from no common-place topic, but from the nature of the cauſe. It begins with taking notice, that the whole Oration of the accuſer was divided into two parts *. Theſe two parts were, the charge of having poiſoned Oppianicus; on which the accuſer, conſcious of having no proof, did not lay the ſtreſs of his cauſe; but reſted it chiefly on the other charge of formerly corrupting the Judges, which was capital in certain caſes, by the Roman law. Cicero purpoſes to follow him in this method, and to apply himſelf chiefly to the vindication of his client from the latter charge. He makes ſeveral proper obſervations on the danger of Judges ſuffering themſelves to be ſwayed by a popular cry, which often is raiſed by faction, and directed againſt the inno-

* Animadverte, Judices, omnem accuſatoris orationem in duas diviſam "eſſe partes; quarum altera mihi niti et magnopere confidere videbatur, in-"vidiâ jam inveterata judicii Juniani, altera tantummodo conſuetudinis cauſâ, "timidè et diffidenter attingere rationem veneficii criminum; quâ de re lege "eſt hæc queſtio conſtituta. Itaque mihi certum eſt hanc eandem diſtribu-"tionem invidiæ et criminum ſic in defenſione ſervare, ut omnes intelligant, "nihil me nec ſubterfugere voluiſſe reticendo, nec obſcurare dicendo."

cent.

LECT. XXVIII. cent. He acknowledges, that Cluentius had suffered much and long by reproach, on account of what had passed at the former trial; but begs only a patient and attentive hearing, and assures the Judges, that he will state every thing relating to that matter so fairly and so clearly, as shall give them entire satisfaction. A great appearance of candour reigns throughout this Introduction

THE crimes with which Cluentius were charged, were heinous. A mother accusing her son, and accusing him of such actions, as having first bribed Judges to condemn her husband, and having afterwards poisoned him, were circumstances that naturally raised strong prejudices against Cicero's client. The first step, therefore, necessary for the Orator, was to remove these prejudices; by shewing what sort of persons Cluentius's mother, and her husband Oppianicus, were; and thereby turning the edge of public indignation against them. The nature of the cause rendered this plan altogether proper, and, in similar situations, it is fit to be imitated. He executes his plan with much eloquence and force; and, in doing it, lays open such a scene of infamy and complicated guilt, as gives a shocking picture of the manners of that age; and such as would seem incredible, did not Cicero refer to the proof that was taken in the former trial, of the facts which he alleges.

SASSIA, the mother, appears to have been altogether of an abandoned character. Soon after the death of her first husband, the father of Cluentius, she fell in love with Aurius Melinus, a young man of illustrious birth and great fortune, who was married to her own daughter. She prevailed with him to di-

vorce her daughter, and then ſhe married him herſelf*. This Melinus being afterwards, by the means of Oppianicus, involved in Sylla's proſcription, and put to death; and Saſſia being left, for the ſecond time, a widow, and in a very opulent ſituation, Oppianicus himſelf made his addreſſes to her. She, not ſtartled at the impudence of the propoſal, nor at the thoughts of marrying one, whoſe hands had been imbrued in her former huſband's blood, objected only, as Cicero ſays, to Oppianicus having two ſons by his preſent wife. Oppianicus removed the objection, by having his ſons privately diſpatched; and then, divorcing his wife, the infamous match was concluded between him and Saſſia. Thoſe flagrant deeds are painted, as we may well believe, with the higheſt colours of Cicero's Eloquence, which there has a very proper field. Cluentius, as a man of honour, could no longer live on any tolerable terms with a woman, a mother only in the name, who had loaded herſelf and all her family with ſo much diſhonour; and hence, the feud which had ever ſince ſubſiſted between them, and had involved her unfortunate ſon in ſo much trouble and perſecution. As for Oppianicus, Cicero gives a ſort of hiſtory of his life, and a full detail of his crimes; and by what he relates, Oppianicus appears to have

* "Lectum illum genialem quem biennio ante filiæ ſuæ nubenti ſtraverat, "in eâdem domo ſibi ornari et ſterni, expulſâ atque exturbatâ filiâ, jubet. "Nubit genero ſocrus, nullis auſpicibus, funeſtis ominibus omnium. O mu-"lieris ſcelus incredibile, & præter hanc unam, in omni vita inauditum! O au-"daciam ſingularem! non timuiſſe, ſi minus vim Deorum, hominumque "famam, at illam ipſam noctem, faceſque illas nuptiales? non limen cubiculi? "non cubile filiæ? non parietes denique ipſos ſuperiorum teſtes nuptiarum? "perfregit ac proſtravit omnia cupiditate & furore; vicit pudorem libido; ti-"morem audacia; rationem amentia."—The warmth of Cicero's Eloquence, which this paſſage beautifully exemplifies, is here fully juſtified by the ſubject.

LECT. XXVIII.

been a man daring, fierce, and cruel, insatiable in avarice and ambition; trained and hardened in all the crimes which those turbulent times of Marius and Sylla's proscriptions produced: "such a man," says our Orator, "as in place of being surprised "that he was condemned, you ought rather to wonder that "he had escaped so long."

And now, having prepared the way by all this narration, which is clear and elegant, he enters on the history of that famous trial in which his client was charged with corrupting the Judges. Both Cluentius and Oppianicus were of the city Larinum. In a public contest about the rights of the freemen of that city, they had taken opposite sides, which embittered the misunderstanding already subsisting between them. Sassia, now the wife of Oppianicus, pushed him on to the destruction of her son, whom she had long hated, as one who was conscious of her crimes; and as Cluentius was known to have made no will, they expected, upon his death, to succeed to his fortune. The plan was formed, therefore, to dispatch him by poison; which, considering their former conduct, is no incredible part of the story. Cluentius was at that time indisposed: the servant of his physician was to be bribed to give him poison, and one Fabricius, an intimate friend of Oppianicus, was employed in the negociation. The servant having made the discovery, Cluentius first prosecuted Scamander, a freedman of Fabricius, in whose custody the poison was found; and afterwards Fabricius, for this attempt upon his life. He prevailed in both actions: and both these persons were condemned by the voices, almost unanimous, of the Judges.

Of

Of both these *Prejudicia*, as our Author calls them, or previous trials, he gives a very particular account; and rests upon them a great part of his argument, as, in neither of them, there was the least charge or suspicion of any attempt to corrupt the Judges. But in both these trials, Oppianicus was pointed at plainly; in both, Scamander and Fabricius were prosecuted as only the instruments and ministers of his cruel designs. As a natural consequence, therefore, Cluentius immediately afterwards raised a third prosecution against Oppianicus himself, the contriver and author of the whole. It was in this prosecution, that money was said to have been given to the Judges; all Rome was filled with the report of it, and the alarm loudly raised, that no man's life or liberty was safe, if such dangerous practices were not checked. By the following arguments, Cicero defends his client against this heavy charge of the *Crimen corrupti Judicii*.

He reasons first, that there was not the least reason to suspect it; seeing the condemnation of Oppianicus was a direct and necessary consequence of the judgments given against Scamander and Fabricius, in the two former trials; trials, that were fair and uncorrupted, to the satisfaction of the whole world. Yet by these, the road was laid clearly open to the detection of Oppianicus's guilt. His instruments and ministers being once condemned, and by the very same Judges too, nothing could be more absurd than to raise a cry about an innocent person being circumvened by bribery, when it was evident, on the contrary, that a guilty person was now brought into judgment, under such circumstances, that unless the Judges were altogether inconsistent with themselves, it was impossible for him to be acquitted.

LECT. XXVIII.

He reasons next, that, if in this trial there was any corruption of the Judges by money, it was infinitely more probable, that corruption should have proceeded from Oppianicus than from Cluentius. For setting aside the difference of character between the two men, the one fair, the other flagitious; what motive had Cluentius to try so odious and dangerous an experiment, as that of bribing Judges? Was it not much more likely that he should have had recourse to this last remedy, who saw and knew himself, and his cause, to be in the utmost danger; than the other, who had a cause clear in itself, and of the issue of which, in consequence of the two previous sentences given by the same Judges, he had full reason to be confident? Was it not much more likely that he should bribe, who had every thing to fear; whose life and liberty, and fortune were at stake; than he who had already prevailed in a material part of his charge, and who had no further interest in the issue of the prosecution, than as justice was concerned?

In the third place, he asserts it as a certain fact, that Oppianicus did attempt to bribe the Judges; that the corruption in this trial, so much complained of, was employed, not by Cluentius, but against him. He calls on Titus Attius, the Orator on the opposite side; he challenges him to deny, if he can, or if he dare, that Stalenus, one of the thirty-two *Judices Selecti*, did receive money from Oppianicus; he names the sum that was given; he names the persons that were present, when, after the trial was over, Stalenus was obliged to refund the bribe. This is a strong fact, and would seem quite decisive. But, unluckily, a very cross circumstance occurs here. For this very Stalenus gave his voice to condemn Oppianicus. For this

this ſtrange incident, Cicero accounts in the following manner: Stalenus, ſays he, known to be a worthleſs man, and accuſtomed before to the like practices, entered into a treaty with Oppianicus to bring him off, and demanded for that purpoſe a certain ſum, which he undertook to diſtribute among a competent number of the other Judges. When he was once in poſſeſſion of the money; when he found a greater treaſure, than ever he had been maſter of, depoſited in his empty and wretched habitation, he became very unwilling to part with any of it to his colleagues; and bethought himſelf of ſome means by which he could contrive to keep it all to himſelf. The ſcheme which he deviſed for this pu[illegible] promote the condemnation, inſtead of the acquittal of Oppianicus; as, from a condemned perſon, he did not apprehend much danger of being called to account, or being obliged to make reſtitution. In place, therefore, of endeavouring to gain any of his colleagues, he irritated ſuch as he had influence with againſt Oppianicus, by firſt promiſing them money in his name, and afterwards telling them, that Oppianicus had cheated him *. When ſentence was to be pronounced, he had taken meaſures for being abſent himſelf; but being brought by Oppianicus's Lawyers from another court,

* "Cum eſſet egens, ſumptuoſus, audax, callidus, perfidioſus, & cum domi "ſuæ, miſerrimis in locis, et inaniſſimis, tantum nummorum poſitum viderit, "ad omnem malitiam & fraudem verſare mentem ſuam cœpit. "Demne Judi- "cibus? mihi igitur, ipſi præter periculum et infamiam quid quæretur? Si- "quis eum forte caſus ex periculo eripuerit, nonne reddendum eſt? præcipi- "tantem igitur impellamus, inquit, et perditum proſternamus." Capit hoc "conſilium ut pecuniam quibuſdam judicibus leviſſimis polliceatur, deinde eam "poſtea ſupprimat; ut quoniam graves homines ſuâ ſponte ſeverè judicaturos "putabat, hos qui leviores erant, deſtitutione iratos Oppianico redderet."

LECT. XXVIII. and obliged to give his voice, he found it neceſſary to lead the way, in condemning the man whoſe money he had taken, without fulfilling the bargain which he had made with him.

By theſe plauſible facts and reaſonings, the character of Cluentius ſeems in a great meaſure cleared; and, what Cicero chiefly intended, the odium thrown upon the adverſe party. But a difficult part of the Orator's buſineſs ſtill remained. There were ſeveral ſubſequent deciſions of the Prætor, the Cenſors, and the Senate, againſt the Judges in this cauſe; which all proceeded, or ſeemed to proceed, upon this ground of bribery and corruption: for it is plain the ſuſpicio[illegible]ailed, that if Oppianicus had given money to Stalenus, Cluentius had outbribed him. To all theſe deciſions, however, Cicero replies with much diſtinctneſs and ſubtilty of argument; though it might be tedious to follow him through all his reaſonings on theſe heads. He ſhows, that the facts were, at that time, very indiſtinctly known; that the deciſions appealed to were haſtily given; that not one of them concluded directly againſt his Client; and that ſuch as they were, they were entirely brought about by the inflammatory and factious harangues of Quinctius, the Tribune of the People, who had been the Agent and Advocate of Oppianicus; and who, enraged at the defeat he had ſuſtained, had employed all his tribunitial influence to raiſe a ſtorm againſt the Judges who condemned his Client.

At length, Cicero comes to reaſon concerning the point of law. The *Crimen Corrupti Judicii*, or the bribing of Judges, was capital. In the famous *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis*, was contained this clauſe (which we find ſtill extant, Pandect. lib. xlviii.

Tit.

Tit. 10. § 1.) "Qui judicem corruperit, vel corrumpendum "curaverit, hâc lege teneatur." This clauſe, however, we learn from Cicero, was reſtricted to Magiſtrates and Senators; and as Cluentius was only of the Equeſtrian Order, he was not, even ſuppoſing him guilty, within the law. Of this Cicero avails himſelf doubly; and as he ſhows here the moſt maſterly addreſs, I ſhall give a ſummary of his pleading on this part of the cauſe: "You," ſays he to the Advocate for the proſecutor, "you, T. Attius, I know, had every where given it out, that "I was to defend my Client, not from facts, not upon the "footing of innocence, but by taking advantage merely of the "law in his behalf. Have I done ſo? I appeal to yourſelf. "Have I ſought to cover him behind a legal defence only? "On the contrary, have I not pleaded his cauſe as if he had "been a Senator, liable, by the Cornelian law, to be capitally "convicted; and ſhown, that neither proof nor probable pre-"ſumption lies againſt his innocence? In doing ſo, I muſt "acquaint you, that I have complied with the deſire of Clu-"entius himſelf. For when he firſt conſulted me in this cauſe, "and when I informed him that it was clear no action could "be brought againſt him from the Cornelian Law, he inſtantly "beſought and obteſted me, that I would not reſt his defence "upon that ground; ſaying, with tears in his eyes, That his "reputation was as dear to him as his life; and that what he "ſought, as an innocent man, was not only to be abſolved "from any penalty, but to be acquitted in the opinion of all his "fellow-citizens.

"Hitherto, then, I have pleaded this cauſe upon his plan. "But my Client muſt forgive me, if now I ſhall plead it upon my

LECT. XXVIII.

" own. For I ſhould be wanting to myſelf, and to that regard " which my character and ſtation require me to bear to the laws " of the State, if I ſhould allow any perſon to be judged of by " a law which does not bind him. You, Attius, indeed, have " told us, that it was a ſcandal and reproach, that a Roman " Knight ſhould be exempted from thoſe penalties to which a " Senator, for corrupting Judges, is liable. But I muſt tell " you, that it would be a much greater reproach, in a State " that is regulated by law, to depart from the law. What " ſafety have any of us in our perſons, what ſecurity for " our rights, if the law ſhall be ſet aſide? By what title do you, " Q. Naſo, ſit in that chair, and preſide in this judgment? By " what right, T. Attius, do you accuſe, or do I defend? " Whence all the ſolemnity and pomp of Judges, and Clerks, " and Officers, of which this houſe is full? Does not all pro- " ceed from the law, which regulates the whole departments of " the State; which, as a common bond, holds its members " together; and, like the Soul within the Body, actuates and " directs all the public functions *? On what ground, then, " dare you ſpeak lightly of the law, or move that, in a criminal " trial, Judges ſhould advance one ſtep beyond what it permits

* " Ait Attius, indignum eſſe facinus, ſi ſenator judicio quemquam cir- " cumvenerit, eum legibus teneri; ſi Eques Romanus hoc idem fecerit, eum " non teneri. Ut tibi concedam hoc indignum eſſe, tu mihi concedas neceſſe " eſt multo eſſe indignius, in eâ civitate quæ legibus contineatur, diſcedi a " legibus. Hoc nam vinculum eſt hujus dignitatis qua fruimur in republicâ. " Hoc fundamentum libertatis; hic fons equitatis; mens et animus, et con- " ſilium, et ſententia civitatis poſita eſt in legibus. Ut corpora noſtra ſine " mente, ſic civitas ſine lege, ſuis partibus, ut nervis ac ſanguine & membris, " uti non poteſt. Legum miniſtri, magiſtratus; legum interpretes, judices; " legum denique idcirco omnes ſimus ſervi, ut liberi eſſe poſſimus. Quid eſt, " Q. Naſo, cur tu in hoc loco ſedeas? &c."

"them to go? The wiſdom of our anceſtors has found, that, "as Senators and Magiſtrates enjoy higher dignities, and greater "advantages than other members of the ſtate, the law ſhould "alſo, with regard to them, be more ſtrict, and the purity and "uncorruptedneſs of their morals be guarded by more ſevere "ſanctions. But if it be your pleaſure that this inſtitution ſhould "be altered, if you wiſh to have the Cornelian Law, concerning "bribery extended to all ranks, then let us join, not in violat- "ing the law, but in propoſing to have this alteration made by "a new law. My Client, Cluentius, will be the foremoſt in "this meaſure, who now, while the old law ſubſiſts, rejected "its defence, and required his cauſe to be pleaded, as if he "had been bound by it. But, though he would not avail "himſelf of the law, you are bound in juſtice not to ſtretch it "beyond its proper limit."

SUCH is the reaſoning of Cicero on this head; eloquent, ſurely, and ſtrong. As his manner is diffuſe, I have greatly abridged it from the original, but have endeavoured to detain its force.

IN the latter part of the Oration, Cicero treats of the other accuſation that was brought againſt Cluentius, of having poiſoned Oppianicus. On this, it appears, his accuſers themſelves laid ſmall ſtreſs; having placed their chief hope in overwhelming Cluentius with the odium of bribery in the former trial; and, therefore, on this part of the cauſe, Cicero does not dwell long. He ſhows the improbability of the whole tale, which they related concerning this pretended poiſoning, and

LECT. XXVIII. makes it appear to be altogether destitute of any shadow of proof.

Nothing, therefore, remains but the Peroration, or Conclusion of the whole. In this, as indeed throughout the whole of this Oration, Cicero is uncommonly chaste, and, in the midst of much warmth and earnestness, keeps clear of turgid declamation. The Peroration turns on two points; the indignation which the character and conduct of Sassia ought to excite, and the compassion due to a son, persecuted through his whole life by such a mother. He recapitulates the crimes of Sassia; her lewdness, her violation of every decorum, her incestuous marriages, her violence and cruelty. He places, in the most odious light, the eagerness and fury which she had shown in the suit she was carrying on against her son; describes her journey from Larinum to Rome, with a train of attendants, and a great store of money, that she might employ every method for circumvening and oppressing him in this trial; while, in the whole course of her journey, she was so detested, as to make a solitude wherever she lodged; she was shunned and avoided by all; her company, and her very looks, were reckoned contagious; the house was deemed polluted which was entered into by so abandoned a woman *. To this he opposes the character of

" * Cùm appropinquare hujus judicium ei nuntiatum est, confestim hic " advolavit; ne aut accusatoribus diligentia, aut pecunia testibus deesset; aut " ne forte mater hoc sibi optatissimum spectaculum hujus sordium atque luctus, " et tanti squaloris amitteret. Jam vero quod iter Romam hujus mulieris fuisse " existimatis? Quod ego propter vicinitatem Aquinatium et Venafranorum ex " multis comperi: quos concursus in his oppidis? Quantos et virorum et " mulierum gemitus esse factos? Mulierem quandam Larino, atque illam usque " a mari

of Cluentius, fair, unſpotted, and reſpectable. He produces the teſtimonies of the magiſtrates of Larinum in his favour, given in the moſt ample and honourable manner by a public decree, and ſupported by a great concourſe of the moſt noted inhabitants, who were now preſent, to ſecond every thing that Cicero could ſay in favour of Cluentius.

" WHEREFORE, Judges," he concludes, " if you abominate " crimes, ſtop the triumph of this impious woman, prevent " this moſt unnatural mother from rejoicing in her ſon's blood. " If you love virtue and worth, relieve this unfortunate man, " who, for ſo many years, has been expoſed to moſt unjuſt " reproach through the calumnies raiſed againſt him by Saſſia, " Oppianicus, and all their adherents. Better far it had been " for him to have ended his days at once by the poiſon which " Oppianicus had prepared for him, than to have eſcaped thoſe " ſnares, if he muſt ſtill be oppreſſed by an odium which I have " ſhown to be ſo unjuſt. But in you he truſts, in your clemency, " and your equity, that now, on a full and fair hearing of his " cauſe, you will reſtore him to his honour; you will reſtore him " to his friends and fellow-citizens, of whoſe zeal and high eſti- " mation of him you have ſeen ſuch ſtrong proofs; and will " ſhow, by your deciſion, that, though faction and calumny " may reign for a while in popular meetings and harangues, " in trial and judgment regard is paid to the truth only."

" a mari ſupero Romam proficiſci cum magno comitatu et pecunia, quo facilius " circumvenire judicio capitis, atque opprimere filium poſſit. Nemo erat il- " lorum, pœne dicam, quin expiandum illum locum eſſe arbitraretur quacun- " que illa iter feciſſet; nemo, quin terram ipſam violari, quæ mater eſt omnium, " veſtigiis conſceleratæ matris putaret. Itaque nullo in oppido conſiſtendi ei " poteſtas fuit: nemo ex tot hoſpitibus inventus eſt qui non contagionem " aſpectûs fugeret."

LECT. XXVIII.

I HAVE given only a ſkeleton of this Oration of Cicero. What I have principally aimed at, was to ſhow his diſpoſition and method; his arrangement of facts, and the conduct and force of ſome of his main arguments. But, in order to have a full view of the ſubject, and of the art with which the Orator manages it, recourſe muſt be had to the original. Few of Cicero's Orations contain a greater variety of facts and argumentations, which renders it difficult to analyſe it fully. But for this reaſon I choſe it, as an excellent example of managing at the Bar a complex and intricate cauſe, with order, elegance, and force.

LECTURE XXIX.

ELOQUENCE OF THE PULPIT.

BEFORE treating of the ſtructure and component parts of a regular Oration, I purpoſed making ſome obſervations on the peculiar ſtrain, the diſtinguiſhing characters, of each of the three great kinds of Public Speaking. I have already treated of the Eloquence of Popular Aſſemblies, and of the Eloquence of the Bar. The ſubject which remains for this Lecture is, the ſtrain and ſpirit of that Eloquence which is ſuited to the Pulpit. LECT. XXIX.

LET us begin with conſidering the advantages, and diſadvantages, which belong to this field of Public Speaking. The Pulpit has plainly ſeveral advantages peculiar to itſelf. The dignity and importance of its ſubjects muſt be acknowledged ſuperior to any other. They are ſuch as ought to intereſt every one, and can be brought home to every man's heart; and ſuch as admit, at the ſame time, both the higheſt embelliſhment in de-

ſcribing,

LECT. XXIX. ſcribing, and the greateſt vehemence and warmth in enforcing them. The Preacher has alſo great advantages in treating his ſubjects. He ſpeaks not to one or a few Judges, but to a large Aſſembly. He is ſecure from all interruption. He is obliged to no replies, or extemporaneous efforts. He chuſes his theme at leiſure; and comes to the Public with all the aſſiſtance which the moſt accurate premeditation can give him.

But, together with theſe advantages, there are alſo peculiar difficulties that attend the Eloquence of the Pulpit. The Preacher, it is true, has no trouble in contending with an adverſary; but then, Debate and Contention enliven the genius of men, and procure attention. The Pulpit Orator is, perhaps, in too quiet poſſeſſion of his field. His ſubjects of diſcourſe are, in themſelves, noble and important; but they are ſubjects trite and familiar. They have, for ages, employed ſo many Speakers, and ſo many pens; the public ear is ſo much accuſtomed to them, that it requires more than an ordinary power of genius to fix attention. Nothing within the reach of art is more difficult, than to beſtow, on what is common, the grace of novelty. No ſort of compoſition whatever is ſuch a trial of ſkill, as where the merit of it lies wholly in the execution; not in giving any information that is new, not in convincing men of what they did not believe; but in dreſſing truths which they knew, and of which they were before convinced, in ſuch colours as may moſt forcibly affect their imagination and heart*. It is to be conſidered too,

* What I have ſaid on this ſubject, coincides very much with the obſervations made by the famous M. Bruyere, in his *Mœurs de Siecle*, when he is comparing

too, that the ſubject of the Preacher generally confines him to abſtract qualities, to virtues and vices; whereas, that of other popular Speakers leads them to treat of perſons; which is a ſubject that commonly intereſts the hearers more, and takes faſter hold of the imagination. The Preacher's buſineſs is ſolely to make you deteſt the crime. The Pleader's, to make you deteſt the criminal. He deſcribes a living perſon; and with more facility rouſes your indignation. From theſe cauſes, it comes to paſs, that though we have a great number of moderately good Preachers, we have, however, ſo few that are ſingularly eminent. We are ſtill far from perfection in the art of Preaching; and perhaps there are few things, in which it is more dif-

paring the Eloquence of the Pulpit with that of the Bar. "L'Eloquence de la "chaire, en ce qui y entre d'humain, & du talent de l'orateur, eſt cachée, connue "de peu de perſonnes, & d'une difficilé execution. Il faut marcher par des "chemins battus, dire ce qui a été dit, & ce que l'on prevoit que vous allez "dire: les matières ſont grandes, mais uſées & triviales; les principes ſurs, "mais dont les auditeurs penetrent les concluſions d'une ſeule vûe: il y entre "des ſujets qui ſont ſublimes, mais qui peut traiter le ſublime?—Le Prédica-"teur n'eſt point ſoutenu comme l'avocat par des faits toujours nouveaux, par "de differens evénémens, par des avantures inouies; il ne s'exerce point ſur "les queſtions douteuſes; il ne fait point valoir les violentes conjectures, & les "preſomptions; toutes choſes, neanmoins, qui élevent le génie, lui donnent "de la force, & de l'étendue, & qui contraignent bien moins l'éloquence, "qu'elles ne le fixent, & le dirigent. Il doit, au contraire, tirer ſon diſcours "d'une ſource commune, & au tout le monde puiſe; & s'il s'écarte de ces lieux "communs, il n'eſt plus populaire; il eſt abſtrait ou déclamateur."—The inference which he draws from theſe reflections is very juſt—"il eſt plus aiſé "de prêcher que de plaider; mais plus difficile de bien prêcher que de bien "plaider." Les Characteres, ou Mœurs de ce Siecle, p. 601.

LECT. XXIX. ficult to excel *. The object, however, is noble, and worthy, upon many accounts, of being pursued with zeal.

It may perhaps occur to some, that preaching is no proper subject of the Art of Eloquence. This, it may be said, belongs only to human studies and inventions: but for the truths of religion, with the greater simplicity, and the less mixture of art they are set forth, they are likely to prove the more successful. This objection would have weight, if Eloquence were, as the persons who make such an objection commonly take it to be, an ostentatious and deceitful art, the study of words and of plausibility only, calculated to please, and to tickle the ear. But against this idea of Eloquence I have all along guarded. True Eloquence is the art of placing truth in the most advantageous light for conviction and persuasion. This is what every good man who preaches the Gospel not only may, but ought to have at heart. It is most intimately connected with the success of his ministry; and were it needful, as assuredly it is not, to rea-

* What I say here, and in other passages, of our being far from perfection in the Art of Preaching, and of their being few who are singularly eminent in it, is to be always understood as referring to an ideal view of the perfection of this art, which none, perhaps, since the days of the Apostles, ever did, or ever will, reach. But in that degree of the Eloquence of the Pulpit, which promotes, in a considerable measure, the great end of edification, and gives a just title to high reputation and esteem, there are many who hold a very honourable rank. I agree entirely in opinion with a candid Judge (Dr. Campbell on Rhetoric. B. i. ch. 10.) who observes, that considering how rare the talent of Eloquence is among men, and considering all the disadvantages under which Preachers labour, particularly from the frequency of this exercise, joined with the other duties of their office, to which fixed Pastors are obliged, there is more reason to wonder that we hear so many instructive, and even eloquent Sermons, than that we hear so few.

son any further on this head, we might refer to the Discourses of the Prophets and Apostles, as models of the most sublime and persuasive Eloquence, adapted both to the imagination and the passions of men.

An essential requisite, in order to preach well, is, to have a just, and, at the same time, a fixed and habitual view of the end of preaching. For in no art can any man execute well, who has not a just idea of the end and object of that art. The end of all preaching is, to persuade men to become good. Every Sermon therefore should be a persuasive Oration. Not but that the Preacher is to instruct and to teach, to reason and argue. All persuasion, as I showed formerly, is to be founded on conviction. The understanding must always be applied to in the first place, in order to make a lasting impression on the heart: and he who would work on men's passions, or influence their practice, without first giving them just principles, and enlightening their minds, is no better than a mere declaimer. He may raise transient emotions, or kindle a passing ardour; but can produce no solid or lasting effect. At the same time, it must be remembered, that all the Preachers instructions are to be of the practical kind; and that persuasion must ever be his ultimate object. It is not to discuss some abstruse point, that he ascends the Pulpit. It is not to illustrate some metaphysical truth, or to inform men of something which they never heard before; but it is to make them better men; it is to give them, at once, clear views, and persuasive impressions of religious truth. The Eloquence of the Pulpit then, must be Popular Eloquence. One of the first qualities of preaching is to be popular; not in the sense of accommodation to the humours

LECT. XXIX. and prejudices of the people (which tends only to make a Preacher contemptible), but, in the true ſenſe of the word, calculated to make impreſſion on the people; to ſtrike and to ſeize their hearts. I ſcruple not therefore to aſſert, that the abſtract and philoſophical manner of preaching, however it may have ſometimes been admired, is formed upon a very faulty idea, and deviates widely from the juſt plan of Pulpit Eloquence. Rational, indeed, a Preacher ought always to be; he muſt give his audience clear ideas on every ſubject, and entertain them with ſenſe, not with ſound; but to be an accurate reaſoner will be ſmall praiſe, if he be not a perſuaſive Speaker alſo.

Now, if this be the proper idea of a Sermon, a perſuaſive Oration, one very material conſequence follows, that the Preacher himſelf, in order to be ſucceſsful, muſt be a good man. In a preceding Lecture, I endeavoured to ſhow, that on no ſubject can any man be truly eloquent, who does not utter the "veræ voces ab imo pectore," who does not ſpeak the language of his own conviction, and his own feelings. If this holds, as, in my opinion, it does in other kinds of Public Speaking, it certainly holds in the higheſt degree in preaching. There, it is of the utmoſt conſequence that the Speaker firmly believe both the truth, and the importance of thoſe principles which he inculcates on others; and, not only that he believe them ſpeculatively, but have a lively and ſerious feeling of them. This will always give an earneſtneſs and ſtrength, a fervour of piety to his exhortations, ſuperior in its effects to all the arts of ſtudied Eloquence; and, without it, the aſſiſtance of art will ſeldom be able to conceal the mere declaimer. A ſpirit of true piety would prove

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the most effectual guard against those errors which Preachers are apt to commit. It would make their Discourses solid, cogent, and useful; it would prevent those frivolous and ostentatious harangues, which have no other aim than merely to make a parade of Speech, or amuse an audience; and perhaps the difficulty of attaining that pitch of habitual piety and goodness, which the perfection of Pulpit Eloquence would require, and of uniting it with that thorough knowledge of the world, and those other talents which are requisite for excelling in the Pulpit, is one of the great causes why so few arrive at very high eminence in this sphere.

The chief characteristics of the Eloquence suited to the Pulpit, as distinguished from the other kinds of Public Speaking, appear to me to be these two, Gravity and Warmth. The serious nature of the subjects belonging to the Pulpit, requires Gravity; their importance to mankind, requires Warmth. It is far from being either easy or common to unite these characters of Eloquence. The Grave, when it is predominant, is apt to run into a dull uniform solemnity. The Warm, when it wants gravity, borders on the theatrical and light. The union of the two must be studied by all Preachers as of the utmost consequence, both in the composition of their discourses, and in their manner of delivery. Gravity and Warmth united, form that character of preaching which the French call *Onction*; the affecting, penetrating, interesting manner, flowing from a strong sensibility of heart in the Preacher to the importance of those truths which he delivers, and an earnest desire that they may make full impression on the hearts of his Hearers.

LECT. XXIX.

Next to a juſt idea of the nature and object of Pulpit Eloquence, the point of greateſt importance to a Preacher, is a proper choice of the ſubjects on which he preaches. To give rules for the choice of ſubjects for Sermons, belongs to the theological more than to the rhetorical chair; only in general, they ſhould be ſuch as appear to the Preacher to be the moſt uſeful, and the beſt accommodated to the circumſtances of his Audience. No man can be called eloquent, who ſpeaks to an Aſſembly on ſubjects, or in a ſtrain, which none or few of them comprehend. The unmeaning applauſe which the ignorant give to what is above their capacity, common ſenſe, and common probity, muſt teach every man to deſpiſe. Uſefulneſs and true Eloquence always go together; and no man can long be reputed a good Preacher who is not acknowledged to be an uſeful one.

The rules which relate to the conduct of the different parts of a Sermon, the Introduction, Diviſion, argumentative and pathetic parts, I reſerve to be afterwards delivered, when treating of the conduct of a Diſcourſe in general; but ſome rules and obſervations, which reſpect a Sermon as a particular ſpecies of compoſition, I ſhall now give, and I hope they may be of ſome uſe.

The firſt which I ſhall mention is, to attend to the Unity of a Sermon. Unity indeed is of great conſequence in every compoſition; but in other Diſcourſes, where the choice and direction of the ſubject are not left to the Speaker, it may be leſs in his power to preſerve it. In a Sermon, it muſt be always the Preacher's own fault if he tranſgreſs it. What I mean by unity is, that there ſhould be ſome one main point to which the whole ſtrain of the Sermon ſhall refer. It muſt not be a bundle of different

ferent subjects strung together, but one object must predominate throughout. This rule is founded on what we all experience, that the mind can attend fully only to one capital object at a time. By dividing, you always weaken the impression. Now this Unity, without which no Sermon can either have much beauty, or much force, does not require that there should be no divisions or separate heads in the Discourse, or that one single thought only should be, again and again, turned up to the hearers in different lights. It is not to be understood in so narrow a sense: it admits of some variety; it admits of underparts and appendages, provided always that so much Union and Connection be preserved, as to make the whole concur in some one impression upon the mind. I may employ, for instance, several different arguments to enforce the love of God; I may also enquire, perhaps, into the causes of the decay of this virtue; still one great object is presented to the mind; but if, because my text says, "He that loveth God, must love his brother also," I should, therefore, mingle in one Discourse arguments for the love of God and for the love of our neighbour, I would offend unpardonably against Unity, and leave a very loose and confused impression on the Hearers minds.

In the second place, Sermons are always the more striking, and commonly the more useful, the more precise and particular the subject of them be. This follows, in a great measure, from what I was just now illustrating. Though a general subject is capable of being conducted with a considerable degree of Unity, yet that Unity can never be so complete as in a particular one. The impression made must always be more undeterminate; and the instruction conveyed, will commonly too, be less direct and convincing. General subjects, indeed, such as the excellency or the

LECT. XXIX. the pleaſures of religion, are often choſen by young Preachers, as the moſt ſhowy, and the eaſieſt to be handled; and, doubtleſs, general views of religion are not to be neglected, as on ſeveral occaſions they have great propriety. But theſe are not the ſubjects moſt favourable for producing the high effects of preaching. They fall in almoſt unavoidably with the beaten tract of common-place thought. Attention is much more commanded by ſeizing ſome particular view of a great ſubject, ſome ſingle intereſting topic, and directing to that point the whole force of Argument and Eloquence. To recommend ſome one grace or virtue, or to inveigh againſt a particular vice, furniſhes a ſubject not deficient in unity or preciſion; but if we confine ourſelves to that virtue or vice as aſſuming a particular aſpect, and conſider it as it appears in certain characters, or affects certain ſituations in life, the ſubject becomes ſtill more intereſting. The execution is, I admit, more difficult, but the merit and the effect are higher.

In the third place, never ſtudy to ſay all that can be ſaid upon a ſubject; no error is greater than this. Select the moſt uſeful, the moſt ſtriking and perſuaſive topics which the text ſuggeſts, and reſt the Diſcourſe upon theſe. If the doctrines which Miniſters of the Goſpel preach were altogether new to their hearers, it might be requiſite for them to be exceeding full on every particular, leſt there ſhould be any hazard of their not affording complete information. But it is much leſs for the ſake of information than of perſuaſion, that Diſcourſes are delivered from the Pulpit; and nothing is more oppoſite to perſuaſion, than an unneceſſary and tedious fulneſs. There are always ſome things which the Preacher may ſuppoſe to be known, and ſome things which he may only ſhortly touch. If

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he ſeek to omit nothing which his ſubject ſuggeſts, it will unavoidably happen that he will encumber it, and weaken its force.

In ſtudying a Sermon, he ought to place himſelf in the ſituation of a ſerious hearer. Let him ſuppoſe the ſubject addreſſed to himſelf: let him conſider what views of it would ſtrike him moſt; what arguments would be moſt likely to perſuade him; what parts of it would dwell moſt upon his mind. Let theſe be employed as his principal materials; and in theſe, it is moſt likely his genius will exert itſelf with the greateſt vigour. The ſpinning and wire-drawing mode, which is not uncommon among Preachers, enervates the nobleſt truths. It may indeed be a conſequence of obſerving the rule which I am now giving, that fewer Sermons will be preached upon one text than is ſometimes done; but this will, in my opinion, be attended with no diſadvantage. I know no benefit that ariſes from introducing a whole ſyſtem of religious truth under every text. The ſimpleſt and moſt natural method by far, is to chuſe that view of a ſubject to which the text principally leads, and to dwell no longer on the text, than is ſufficient for diſcuſſing the ſubject in that view, which can commonly be done, with ſufficient profoundneſs and diſtinctneſs, in one or a few Diſcourſes: for it is a very falſe notion to imagine, that they always preach the moſt profoundly, or go the deepeſt into a ſubject, who dwell on it the longeſt. On the contrary, that tedious circuit, which ſome are ready to take in all their illuſtrations, is very frequently owing, either to their want of diſcernment for perceiving what is moſt important in the ſubject; or to their want of ability for placing it in the moſt proper point of view.

LECT. XXIX.

In the fourth place, ſtudy above all things to render your inſtructions intereſting to the Hearers. This is the great trial and mark of true genius for the Eloquence of the Pulpit: for nothing is ſo fatal to ſucceſs in preaching, as a dry manner. A dry Sermon can never be a good one. In order to preach in an intereſting manner, much will depend upon the delivery of a Diſcourſe; for the manner in which a man ſpeaks, is of the utmoſt conſequence for affecting his Audience; but much will alſo depend on the compoſition of the Diſcourſe. Correct language, and elegant deſcription, are but the ſecondary inſtruments of preaching in an intereſting manner. The great ſecret lies, in bringing home all that is ſpoken to the hearts of the Hearers, ſo as to make every man think that the Preacher is addreſſing him in particular. For this end, let him avoid all intricate reaſonings; avoid expreſſing himſelf in general ſpeculative propoſitions, or laying down practical truths in an abſtract metaphyſical manner. As much as poſſible, the Diſcourſe ought to be carried on in the ſtrain of direct addreſs to the Audience; not in the ſtrain of one writing an eſſay, but of one ſpeaking to a multitude, and ſtudying to mix what is called Application, or what has an immediate reference to practice, with the doctrinal and didactic parts of the Sermon.

It will be of much advantage to keep always in view the different ages, characters, and conditions of men, and to accommodate directions and exhortations to theſe different claſſes of hearers. Whenever you bring forth what a man feels to touch his own character, or to ſuit his own circumſtances, you are ſure of intereſting him. No ſtudy is more neceſſary for this purpoſe, than the ſtudy of human life, and the human heart. To be able to unfold the heart, and to diſcover a man to himſelf,

ſelf, in a light in which he never ſaw his own character before, produces a wonderful effect. As long as the Preacher hovers in a cloud of general obſervations, and deſcends not to trace the particular lines and features of manners, the Audience are apt to think themſelves unconcerned in the deſcription. It is the ſtriking accuracy of moral characters that gives the chief power and effect to a preacher's diſcourſe. Hence, examples founded on hiſtorical facts, and drawn from real life, of which kind the Scriptures afford many, always, when they are well choſen, command high attention. No favourable opportunity of introducing theſe ſhould be omitted. They correct, in ſome degree, that diſadvantage to which I before obſerved preaching is ſubject, of being confined to treat of qualities in the abſtract, not of perſons, and place the weight and reality of religious truths in the moſt convincing light. Perhaps the moſt beautiful, and among the moſt uſeful ſermons of any, though, indeed the moſt difficult in compoſition, are ſuch as are wholly characteriſtical, or founded on the illuſtration of ſome peculiar character, or remarkable piece of hiſtory, in the ſacred writings; by purſuing which, one can trace, and lay open, ſome of the moſt ſecret windings of man's heart. Other topics of preaching have been much beaten; but this is a field, which, wide in itſelf, has hitherto been little explored by the compoſers of ſermons, and poſſeſſes all the advantages of being curious, new, and highly uſeful. Biſhop Butler's ſermon on the *character of Balaam*, will give an idea of that ſort of preaching which I have in my eye.

In the fifth and laſt place, Let me add a caution againſt taking the model of preaching from particular faſhions that chance to have the vogue. Theſe are torrents that ſwell to day,

and have ſpent themſelves by to-morrow. Sometimes it is the taſte of poetical preaching, ſometimes of philoſophical, that has the faſhion on its ſide; at one time it muſt be all pathetic, at another time all argumentative, according as ſome celebrated Preacher has ſet the example. Each of theſe modes, in the extreme, is very faulty; and he who conforms himſelf to it, will both cramp genius, and corrupt it. It is the univerſal taſte of mankind which is ſubject to no ſuch changing modes, that alone is entitled to poſſeſs any authority; and this will never give its ſanction to any ſtrain of preaching, but what is founded on human nature, connected with uſefulneſs, adapted to the proper idea of a Sermon, as a ſerious perſuaſive Oration, delivered to a multitude, in order to make them better men. Let a Preacher form himſelf upon this ſtandard, and keep it cloſe in his eye, and he will be in a much ſurer road to reputation, and ſucceſs at laſt, than by a ſervile compliance with any popular taſte, or tranſient humour of his Hearers. Truth and good ſenſe are firm, and will eſtabliſh themſelves; mode and humour are feeble and fluctuating. Let him never follow, implicitly, any one example; or become a ſervile imitator of any Preacher, however much admired. From various examples, he may pick up much for his improvement; ſome he may prefer to the reſt: but the ſervility of imitation extinguiſhes all genius, or rather is a proof of the entire want of genius.

With reſpect to Style, that which the Pulpit requires, muſt certainly, in the firſt place, be very perſpicuous. As diſcourſes ſpoken there, are calculated for the inſtruction of all ſorts of hearers, plainneſs and ſimplicity ſhould reign in them. All unuſual, ſwoln, or high ſounding words, ſhould be avoided; eſpecially

eſpecially all words that are merely poetical, or merely philoſophical. Young Preachers are apt to be caught with the glare of theſe; and in young Compoſers the error may be excuſable; but they may be aſſured that it is an error, and proceeds from their not having yet acquired a correct Taſte. Dignity of expreſſion, indeed, the Pulpit requires in a high degree; nothing that is mean or groveling, no low or vulgar phraſes, ought on any account to be admitted. But this dignity is perfectly conſiſtent with ſimplicity. The words employed may be all plain words, eaſily underſtood, and in common uſe; and yet the Style may be abundantly dignified, and, at the ſame time, very lively and animated. For a lively and animated Style is extremely ſuited to the Pulpit. The earneſtneſs which a Preacher ought to feel, and the grandeur and importance of his ſubjects, juſtify, and often require warm and glowing expreſſions. He not only may employ metaphors and compariſons, but, on proper occaſions, may apoſtrophiſe the ſaint or the ſinner; may perſonify inanimate objects, break out into bold exclamations, and, in general, has the command of the moſt paſſionate figures of Speech. But on this ſubject, of the proper uſe and management of figures, I have inſiſted ſo fully in former Lectures, that I have no occaſion now to give particular directions; unleſs it be only to recal to mind that moſt capital rule, never to employ ſtrong figures, or a pathetic Style, except in caſes where the ſubject leads to them, and where the Speaker is impelled to the uſe of them by native unaffected warmth.

THE language of Sacred Scripture, properly employed, is a great ornament to Sermons. It may be employed, either in the way of quotation, or alluſion. Direct quotations, brought

LECT. XXIX.

from Scripture, in order to support what the Preacher inculcates, both give authority to his doctrine, and render his discourse more solemn and venerable. Allusions to remarkable passages, or expressions of Scripture, when introduced with propriety, have generally a pleasing effect. They afford the Preacher a fund of metaphorical expression which no other composition enjoys, and by means of which he can vary and enliven his Style. But he must take care that any such allusions be natural and easy; for if they seem forced, they approach to the nature of conceits *.

In a Sermon, no points or conceits should appear, no affected smartness and quaintness of expression. These derogate much from the dignity of the Pulpit; and give to a Preacher that air of foppishness, which he ought, above all things, to shun. It

* Bishop Sherlock, when showing, that the views of reason have been enlarged, and the principles of natural religion illustrated, by the discoveries of Christianity, attacks unbelievers for the abuse they make of these advantages, in the following manner: "What a return do we make for those blessings "we have received? How disrespectfully do we treat the Gospel of Christ, to "which we owe that clear light both of reason and nature, which we now "enjoy, when we endeavour to set up reason and nature in opposition to it? "ought the *withered hand*, which Christ has restored and made whole, to be "lifted up against him?" Vol. i. Disc. i. This allusion to a noted miracle of our Lord's, appears to me happy and elegant. Dr. Seed is remarkably fond of allusions to Scripture Style; but he sometimes employs such as are too strained and fanciful. As when he says (Serm. iv.) "No one great "virtue will come single; the virtues *that be her fellows will bear her company* "*with joy and gladness.*" Alluding to a passage in the XLVth. Psalm, which relates to the virgins, the companions of the king's daughter. And (Serm. xiii.) having said, that the universities have justly been called the eyes of the nation, he adds, "and *if the eyes* of the nation *be evil, the whole body of it must be full of* "*darkness.*"

is rather a ſtrong expreſſive Style, than a ſparkling one, that is to be ſtudied. But we muſt beware of imagining, that we render Style ſtrong or expreſſive, by a conſtant and multiplied uſe of epithets. This is a great error. Epithets have often great beauty and force. But if we introduce them into every Sentence, and ſtring many of them together to one object, in place of ſtrengthening, we clog and enfeeble Style; in place of illuſtrating the image, we render it confuſed and indiſtinct. He that tells me, "of this periſhing, "mutable and tranſitory world;" by all theſe three epithets, does not give me ſo ſtrong an idea of what he would convey, as if he had uſed one of them with propriety. I conclude this head with an advice, never to have what may be called a favourite expreſſion; for it ſhews affectation, and becomes diſguſting. Let not any expreſſion, which is remarkable for its luſtre or beauty, occur twice in the ſame diſcourſe. The repetition of it betrays a fondneſs to ſhine, and, at the ſame time, carries the appearance of a barren invention.

As to the queſtion, whether it be moſt proper to write Sermons fully, and commit them accurately to memory, or to ſtudy only the matter and thoughts, and truſt the expreſſion, in part at leaſt, to the delivery? I am of opinion, that no univerſal rule can here be given. The choice of either of theſe methods muſt be left to Preachers, according to their different genius. The expreſſions which come warm and glowing from the mind, during the fervour of pronunciation, will often have a ſuperior grace and energy, to thoſe which are ſtudied in the retirement of the cloſet. But then, this fluency and power of expreſſion cannot, at all times, be depended upon, even by

LECT. XXIX. those of the readiest genius; and by many can at no time be commanded, when overawed by the presence of an Audience. It is proper therefore to begin, at least, the practice of preaching, with writing as accurately as possible. This is absolutely necessary in the beginning, in order to acquire the power and habit of correct speaking, nay also of correct thinking, upon religious subjects. I am inclined to go further, and to say, that it is proper not only to begin thus, but also to continue, as long as the habits of industry last, in the practice both of writing, and committing to memory. Relaxation in this particular is so common, and so ready to grow upon most Speakers in the Pulpit, that there is little occasion for giving any cautions against the extreme of overdoing in accuracy.

Of pronunciation or delivery, I am hereafter to treat apart. All that I shall now say upon this head is, that the practice of reading Sermons, is one of the greatest obstacles to the Eloquence of the Pulpit in Great Britain, where alone this practice prevails. No discourse, which is designed to be persuasive, can have the same force when read, as when spoken. The common people all feel this, and their prejudice against this practice is not without foundation in nature. What is gained hereby in point of correctness, is not equal, I apprehend, to what is lost in point of persuasion and force. They, whose memories are not able to retain the whole of a discourse, might aid themselves considerably by short notes lying before them, which would allow them to preserve, in a great measure, the freedom and ease of one who speaks.

The French and English writers of Sermons proceed upon very different ideas of the Eloquence of the Pulpit; and feem indeed to have fplit it betwixt them. A French Sermon, is for moft part a warm animated exhortation; an Englifh one, is a piece of cool inftructive reafoning. The French Preachers addrefs themfelves chiefly to the imagination and the paffions; the Englifh, almoft folely to the underftanding. It is the union of thefe two kinds of compofition, of the French earneftnefs and warmth, with the Englifh accuracy and reafon, that would form, according to my idea, the model of a perfect Sermon. A French Sermon would found in our ears as a florid, and, often, as an enthufiaftic, harangue. The cenfure which, in fact, the French critics pafs on the Englifh Preachers is, that they are Philofophers and Logicians, but not orators *. The defects of moft of the French Sermons are thefe: from a mode that prevails among them of taking their texts from the leffon of the day, the connection of the text with the fubject is often unnatural and forced †; their applications of Scripture are fanciful rather than inftructive; their method is ftiff, and cramped, by their practice of dividing their fubject always either into three, or two, main points; and their compofition is in general too diffufe, and confifts rather of a very few

* "Les Sermons font fuivant notre methode, de vrais difcours oratoires;
" & non pas, comme chez les Anglois, des difcuffions metaphyfiques plus
" convenables à une une Academie, qu'aux Affemblies populaires qui fe forment
" dans nos temples, et qu'il s'agit d'inftruire des devoirs du Chrêtianifme,
" d'encourager, de confoler, d'edifier."

Rhetorique Françoife, par. M. Crevier, Tome. I. p. 134.

† One of Maffillon's beft Sermons, that on the coldnefs and languor with which Chriftians perform the duties of religion, is preached from Luke iv. 18. *And he arofe out of the Synagogue, and entered into Simon's houfe; and Simon's wife's mother was taken ill with a great fever.*

thoughts

LECT. XXIX.

thoughts ſpread out, and highly wrought up, than of a rich variety of ſentiments. Admitting, however, all theſe defects, it cannot be denied, that their Sermons are formed upon the idea of a perſuaſive popular Oration; and therefore I am of opinion, they may be read with benefit.

AMONG the French Proteſtant divines, Saurin is the moſt diſtinguiſhed: He is copious, eloquent, and devout, though too oſtentatious in his manner. Among the Roman Catholics, the two moſt eminent are, Bourdaloue and Maſſillon. It is a ſubject of diſpute among the French Critics, to which of theſe the preference is due, and each of them have their ſeveral partizans. To Bourdaloue, they attribute more ſolidity and cloſe reaſoning; to Maſſillon, a more pleaſing and engaging manner. Bourdaloue is indeed a great reaſoner, and inculcates his doctrines with much zeal, piety, and earneſtneſs; but his Style is verboſe, he is diſagreeably full of quotations from the Fathers, and he wants imagination. Maſſillon has more grace, more ſentiment, and, in my opinion, every way more genius. He diſcovers much knowledge both of the world and of the human heart; he is pathetic and perſuaſive; and, upon the whole, is perhaps, the moſt eloquent writer of Sermons which modern times have produced *.

DURING

* In order to give an idea of that kind of Eloquence which is employed by the French Preachers, I ſhall inſert a paſſage from Maſſillon, which, in the Encyclopedie, (Article, Eloquence) is extolled by Voltaire, who was the Author of that Article, as a chef 'd'œuvre, equal to any thing of which either ancient or modern times can boaſt. The ſubject of the Sermon is, the ſmall number of thoſe who ſhall be ſaved. The ſtrain of the whole Diſcourſe is extremely ſerious and animated; but when the Orator came to the paſſage which follows,

DURING the period that preceded the restoration of King Charles II. the Sermons of the English divines abounded with scholastic LECT. XXIX.

lows, Voltaire informs us, that the whole Assembly were moved; that by a sort of involuntary motion, they started up from their seats, and that such murmurs of surprise and acclamations arose as disconcerted the Speaker, though they increased the effect of his Discourse.

"Je m'arrête à vous, mes frères, qui êtes ici assemblés. Je ne parle plus "du reste des hommes; je vous regarde comme si vous étiez seuls sur la terre: "voici la pensée qui m'occupe & qui m'épouvante. Je suppose que c'est ici "votre derniere heure, et la fin de l'univers; que les cieux vont s'ouvrir "sur vos têtes, Jesus Christ paroitre dans sa gloire au milieu de ce temple, et "que vous n'y êtes assemblies que pour l'attendre, comme des criminels "tremblans, à qui l'on va prononcer, ou une sentence de grace, ou un arrêt "de mort eternelle. Car vous avez beau vous flater; vous mouriez tels que "vous êtes aujourd'hui. Tous ces désirs de changement que vous amusent, "vous amuseront jusq'au lit de la mort; c'est l'expérience de tous les siècles. "Tout ce que vous trouverez alors en vous de nouveau, sera peut-être un "compte plus grand que celui que vous auriez aujourd'hui à rendre; et sur ce "que vous seriez, si l'on venoit vous juger dans ce moment, vous pouvez "presque decider ce que vous arrivera au sortir de la vie.

"Or, je vous le demande, et je vous le demande frappé de terreur, ne separant "pas en ce point mon sort du votre, et me mettant dans la même disposition, où "je souhait que vous entriez; je vous demande, donc, si Jesus Christ paroissoit "dans ce temple, au milieu de cette Assemblée, la plus auguste de l'univers, pour "nous juger, pour faire le terrible discernement des bonnes et des brebis, croyez "vous que le plus grand nombre de tout ce que nous sommes ici, fut placé à la "droite? Croyez vous que les choses du moins fussent egales? croyez vous qu'il "s'y trouvât seulement dix justes, que le Seigneur ne peut trouver autrefois en "cinq villes toutes entières? Je vous le demande; vous l'ignorez, et je l'ig-"nore moi-meme. Vous seul, O mon Dieu! connoissez que vous appar-"tiennent.——Mes frères, notre perte est presque assurée, et nous n'y pen-"sons pas. Quand même dans cette terrible séparation qui se fera un jour, il "ne devroit y avoir qu'un seul pêcheur de cet Assemblée du côté des réprouvés, "et qu'une voix du ciel viendroit nous en assurer dans ce Temple, sans le "designer; qui de nous ne craindroit d'ètre de malheureux? qui de nous ne "retomberoit d'abord, sur sa conscience, pour examiner si ses crimes n'ont "pas méritez ce châtiment? qui de nous, sasie de frayeur, ne demanderoit pas

LECT. XXIX.

scholastic casuistical theology. They were full of minute divisions and subdivisions, and scraps of learning in the didactic part; but to these were joined very warm pathetic addresses to the consciences of the Hearers, in the applicatory part of the Sermon. Upon the Restoration, preaching assumed a more correct and polished form. It became disencumbered from the pedantry, and scholastic divisions of the sectaries; but it threw out also their warm and pathetic Addresses, and established itself wholly upon the model of cool reasoning, and rational instruction. As the Dissenters from the Church continued to preserve somewhat of the old strain of preaching, this led the established Clergy to depart the farther from it. Whatever was earnest and passionate, either in the composition or delivery of Sermons, was reckoned enthusiastic and fanatical; and hence that argumentative manner, bordering on the dry and unpersuasive, which is too generally

" à Jesus Christ comme autrefois les Apôtres; Seigneur, ne seroit-ce pas moi? " Sommes nous sages, mes chers Auditeurs? peut-être que parmi tous ceux " qui m'entendent, il ne se trouvera pas dix justes; peut-être s'en trouvera-t-il " encore moins. Que sai-je, O mon Dieu! je n'ôse regarder d'un œil fixe les " abismes de vos jugemens, et de votre justice; peut-être ne s'en trouvera-t-il " qu'un seul; et ce danger ne vous touche point, mon cher Auditeur? et vous " croyez être ce seul heureux dans le grand nombre qui perira? vous qui " avez moins sujet de le croire que tout autre; vous sur qui seul la sentence " de mort devroit tomber. Grand Dieu! qui l'on connoit peu dans le " monde les terreurs de votre loi, &c." —— After this awakening and alarming exhortation, the Orator comes with propriety to this practical improvement: " Mais que conclure des ces grands verités? qu'il faut desesperer de " son salut? a Dieu ne plaise; il n'y a que l'impie, qui pour se calmer sur ses " desordres, tache ici de conclure en secret que tous les hommes periront " comme lui; ce ne doit pas être là le fruits de ce discours. Mais de vous " detromper de cette erreur si universelle, qu'on peut faire ce que tous les autres " font; et que l'usage est une voie sure; mais de vous convaincre que pour " se sauver, il faut de distinguer des autres; être singulier, vivre à part au " milieu du monde, et ne pas ressembler à la foule."

Sermons de MASSILON, Vol. IV.

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the character of English Sermons. Nothing can be more correct upon that model than many of them are; but the model itself on which they are formed, is a confined and imperfect one. Dr. Clark, for instance, every where abounds in good sense, and the most clear and accurate reasoning; his applications of Scripture are pertinent; his Style is always perspicuous, and often elegant; he instructs and he convinces; in what then is he deficient? In nothing, except in the power of interesting and seizing the heart. He shows you what you ought to do; but he excites not the desire of doing it; he treats man as if he were a being of pure intellect, without imagination or passions. Archbishop Tillotson's manner is more free and warm, and he approaches nearer than most of the English divines to the character of Popular Speaking. Hence he is, to this day, one of the best models we have for preaching. We must not indeed consider him in the light of a perfect Orator: his composition is too loose and remiss; his style too feeble, and frequently too flat, to deserve that high character; but there is in some of his Sermons so much warmth and earnestness, and through them all there runs so much ease and perspicuity, such a vein of good sense and sincere piety, as justly intitle him to be held as eminent a Preacher as England has produced.

In Dr. Barrow, one admires more the prodigious fecundity of his invention, and the uncommon strength and force of his conceptions, than the felicity of his execution, or his talent in composition. We see a genius far surpassing the common, peculiar indeed almost to himself; but that genius often shooting wild, and unchastised by any Discipline or study of Eloquence.

I CANNOT attempt to give particular characters of that great number of Writers of Sermons which this, and the former age, have produced, among whom we meet with a variety of the moſt reſpectable names. We find in their compoſition much that deſerves praiſe; a great diſplay of abilities of different kinds, much good ſenſe and piety, ſound divinity and uſeful inſtruction; though, in general, the degree of Eloquence bears not, perhaps, equal proportion to the goodneſs of the matter. Biſhop Atterbury deſerves being particularly mentioned as a model of correct and beautiful Style, beſides having the merit of a warmer and more eloquent ſtrain of writing, in ſome of his Sermons, than is commonly met with. Had Biſhop Butler, in place of abſtract philoſophical eſſays, given us more Sermons, in the ſtrain of thoſe two excellent ones which he has compoſed upon Self-deceit, and upon the character of Balaam, we would then have pointed him out as diſtinguiſhed for that ſpecies of characteriſtical Sermons which I before recommended.

THOUGH the writings of the Engliſh divines are very proper to be read by ſuch as are deſigned for the Church, I muſt caution them againſt making too much uſe of them, or tranſcribing large paſſages from them into the Sermons they compoſe. Such as once indulge themſelves in this practice, will never have any fund of their own. Infinitely better it is, to venture into the public with thoughts and expreſſions which have occurred to themſelves, though of inferior beauty, than to disfigure their compoſitions, by borrowed and ill-ſorted ornaments, which, to a judicious eye, will be always in hazard of diſcovering their own poverty. When a Preacher ſits down to write on any ſubject, never let him begin with ſeeking to conſult all who have written on the ſame text, or ſubject. This, if he conſult

many, will throw perplexity and confuſion into his ideas; and, if he conſults only one, will often warp him inſenſibly into his method, whether it be right or not. But let him begin with pondering the ſubject in his own thoughts; let him endeavour to fetch materials from within; to collect and arrange his ideas; and form ſome ſort of plan to himſelf; which it is always proper to put down in writing. Then, and not till then, he may enquire how others have treated the ſame ſubject. By this means, the method, and the leading thoughts in the Sermon are likely to be his own. Theſe thoughts he may improve, by comparing them with the tract of ſentiment which others have purſued; ſome of their ſenſe he may, without blame, incorporate into his compoſition; retaining always his own words and ſtyle. This is fair aſſiſtance: all beyond is plagiariſm.

On the whole, never let the capital principle, with which we ſet out at firſt, be forgotten, to keep cloſe in view, the great end for which a Preacher mounts the pulpit; even to infuſe good diſpoſitions into his hearers, to perſuade them to ſerve God, and to become better men. Let this always dwell on his mind when he is compoſing, and it will diffuſe through his compoſitions, that ſpirit which will render them at once eſteemed, and uſeful. The moſt uſeful Preacher is always the beſt, and will not fail of being eſteemed ſo. Embelliſh truth only, with a view to gain it the more full and free admiſſion into your hearers minds; and your ornaments will, in that caſe, be ſimple, maſculine, natural. The beſt applauſe by far, which a Preacher can receive, ariſes from the ſerious and deep impreſſions which his diſcourſe leaves on thoſe who hear it. The fineſt encomium, perhaps, ever beſtowed on a Preacher, was given

LECT. XXIX. given by Louis XIV. to the eloquent Bishop of Clermont, Father Massillon, whom I before mentioned with so much praise. After hearing him preach at Versailles, he said to him, "Father, I have heard many great Orators in this Chapel; I have been highly pleased with them; but for you, whenever I hear you, I go away displeased with myself; for I see more of my own character."

LECTURE XXX.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF A SERMON OF BISHOP ATTERBURY'S.

THE laſt Lecture was employed in obſervations on the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing Characters of the Eloquence proper for the Pulpit. But as rules and directions, when delivered in the abſtract, are never ſo uſeful as when they are illuſtrated by particular inſtances, it may, perhaps, be of ſome benefit to thoſe who are deſigned for the Church, that I ſhould analyſe an Engliſh Sermon, and conſider the matter of it, together with the manner. For this purpoſe, I have choſen Biſhop Atterbury as my example, who is deſervedly accounted one of our moſt eloquent writers of Sermons, and whom I mentioned as ſuch in the laſt Lecture. At the ſame time, he is more diſtinguiſhed for elegance and purity of expreſſion, than for profoundneſs of thought. His Style, though ſometimes careleſs, is, upon the whole, neat and chaſte; and more beautiful than that of moſt writers of Sermons. In his ſentiments he is not only rational; but pious and devotional, which is a great excellency.

LECT. XXX.

excellency. The Sermon which I have ſingled out, is, that upon Praiſe and Thankſgiving, the firſt Sermon of the firſt Volume, which is reckoned one of his beſt. In examining it, it is neceſſary that I ſhould uſe full liberty, and, together with the beauties, point out any defects that occur to me in the matter, as well as in the Style.

PSALM l. 14. *Offer unto God Thanſgiving.*

"AMONG the many excellencies of this pious collection of "hymns, for which ſo particular a value hath been ſet upon it "by the Church of God in all ages, this is not the leaſt, that "the true price of duties is there juſtly ſtated; men are called off "from reſting in the outward ſhew of religion, in ceremonies "and ritual obſervances; and taught, rather to practiſe (that "which was ſhadowed out by theſe rites, and to which they "are deſigned to lead) ſound inward piety and virtue.

"THE ſeveral compoſers of theſe Hymns were *Prophets*; "perſons, whoſe buſineſs it was not only to foretel events, "for the benefit of the Church in ſucceeding times, but to cor"rect and reform alſo what was amiſs among that race of men, "with whom they lived and converſed; to preſerve a fooliſh "people from idolatry, and falſe worſhip; to reſcue the law "from corrupt gloſſes, and ſuperſtitious abuſes; and to put "men in mind of (what they are ſo willing to forget) that "eternal and invariable rule, which was before theſe *poſitive* "duties, would continue after them, and was to be obſerved, "even then, in preference to them.

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"The discharge, I say, of this part of the prophetic office "taking up so much room in the book of *Psalms*; this hath "been one reason, among many others, why they have always "been so highly esteemed; because we are from hence fur- "nished with a proper reply to an argument commonly made "use of by unbelievers, who look upon all revealed religions "as pious frauds and impostures, on the account of the preju- "dices they have entertained in relation to that of the *Jews*; "the whole of which they first suppose to lie in external per- "formances, and then easily persuade themselves, that God "could never be the Author of such a mere piece of pageantry "and empty formality, nor delight in a worship which con- "sisted purely in a number of odd unaccountable ceremonies. "Which objection of theirs, we should not be able thoroughly "to answer, unless we could prove (chiefly out of the *Psalms*, "and other parts of the prophetic writings) that the Jewish re- "ligion was somewhat more than bare outside and shew; and "that inward purity, and the devotion of the heart, was a duty "then, as well as now."

This appears to me an excellent Introduction. The thought on which it rests is solid and judicious; that in the book of Psalms, the attention of men is called to the moral and spiritual part of religion; and the Jewish dispensation thereby vindicated from the suspicion of requiring nothing more from its votaries, than the observance of the external rites and ceremonies of the law. Such views of religion are proper to be often displayed; and deserve to be insisted on, by all who wish to render preaching conducive to the great purpose of promoting right-

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LECT. XXX. ousness and virtue. The Style, as far as we have gone, is not only free from faults, but elegant and happy.

It is a great beauty in an introduction, when it can be made to turn on some one thought, fully brought out and illustrated; especially, if that thought has a close connection with the following discourse, and, at the same time, does not anticipate any thing that is afterwards to be introduced in a more proper place. This Introduction of Atterbury's has all these advantages. The encomium which he makes on the strain of David's Psalms, is not such as might as well have been prefixed to any other discourse, the text of which was taken from any of the Psalms. Had this been the case, the Introduction would have lost much of its beauty. We shall see from what follows, how naturally the introductory thought connects with his text, and how happily it ushers it in.

"One great instance of this proof, we have in the words "now before us; which are taken from a Psalm of *Asaph*, "written on purpose to set out the weakness and worthlessness "of external performances, when compared with more substantial and vital duties. To enforce which doctrine, God "himself is brought in as delivering it. *Hear, O my people, and* "*I will speak; O Israel, and I will testify against thee: I am* "*God, even thy God.* The Preface is very solemn, and there"fore what it ushers in, we may be sure is of no common "importance; *I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices or* "*thy burnt offerings, to have been continually before me.* That "is, I will not so reprove thee for any failures in thy sacrifices

"and burnt-offerings, as if theſe were the only, or the chief "things I required of thee. *I will take no bullock out of thy "houſe, nor he-goat out of thy folds*; I preſcribed not ſacrifices "to thee for my own ſake, becauſe I needed them; *For every "beaſt of the foreſt is mine, and the cattle on a thouſand hills.* "Mine they are, and were, before I commanded thee to offer "them to me; ſo that, as it follows, *If I were hungry, yet "would I not tell thee; for the world is mine, and the fullneſs "thereof.* But can ye be ſo groſs and ſenſeleſs, as to think me "liable to hunger and thirſt? as to imagine that wants of that "kind can touch me? *Will I eat the fleſh of bulls, or drink the "blood of goats?*—Thus doth he expoſtulate ſeverely with them, "after the moſt graceful manner of the Eaſtern Poetry. The "iſſue of which is a plain and full reſolution of the caſe, in "thoſe few words of the text.—*Offer unto God thankſgiving.* "Would you do your homage the moſt agreeable way? would "you render the moſt acceptable of ſervices? *offer unto God "thankſgiving.*"

It is often a difficult matter to illuſtrate gracefully the text of a Sermon from the context, and to point out the connection between them. This is a part of the diſcourſe which is apt to become dry and tedious, eſpecially when purſued into a minute commentary. And therefore, except as far as ſuch illuſtration from the context is neceſſary for explaining the meaning, or in caſes where it ſerves to give dignity and force to the text, I would adviſe it to be always treated with brevity. Sometimes it may even be wholly omitted, and the text aſſumed merely as an independent propoſition, if the connection with the context be obſcure, and would require a laborious explana-

LECT. XXX. tion. In the present case, the illustration from the context is singularly happy. The passage of the Psalm on which it is founded is noble and spirited, and connected in such a manner with the text, as to introduce it with a very striking emphasis. On the language I have little to observe, except that the phrase, *one great instance of this proof*, is a clumsy expression. It was sufficient to have said, *one great proof*, or *one great instance, of this*. In the same sentence, when he speaks of *setting out the weakness and worthlessness of external performances*, we may observe, that the word *worthlessness*, as it is now commonly used, signifies more than the deficiency of worth, which is all that the Author means. It generally imports, a considerable degree of badness or blame. It would be more proper, therefore, to say, the *imperfection*, or the *insignificancy*, of external performances.

"The use I intend to make of these words, is, from hence
"to raise some thoughts about that very excellent and import-
"ant duty of Praise and Thanksgiving, a subject not unfit to be
"discoursed of at this time; whether we consider, either the
"more than ordinary coldness that appears of late in men's
"tempers towards the practice of this (or any other) part of a
"warm and affecting devotion; the great occasion of setting
"aside this particular day in the calendar, some years ago; or
"the new instances of mercy and goodness, which God hath
"lately been pleased to bestow upon us; answering at last the
"many *prayers* and *fastings*, by which we have besought him
"so long for the establishment of their Majesties Throne, and
"for the success of their arms; and giving us in his good time,
"an opportunity of appearing before him in the more delight-

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"ful part of our duty, *with the voice of joy and praiſe, with a* "*multitude that keep holidays.*"

In this paragraph there is nothing remarkable; no particular beauty or neatneſs of expreſſion; and the Sentence which it forms is long and tireſome—*to raiſe ſome thoughts about that very excellent*, &c. is rather looſe and awkward;—better—*to recommend that very excellent*, &c. and when he mentions *ſetting aſide* a particular day in the calendar, one would imagine, that *ſetting apart* would have been more proper, as to *ſet aſide*, ſeems rather to ſuggeſt a different idea.

"*Offer unto God Thankſgiving.*—Which that we may do, let "us enquire firſt, how we are to *underſtand* this command of "offering Praiſe and Thankſgiving unto God; and then, how "*reaſonable* it is that we ſhould comply with it."

This is the general diviſion of the diſcourſe. An excellent one it is, and correſponds to many ſubjects of this kind, where particular duties are to be treated of; firſt to explain, and then to recommend or enforce them. A diviſion ſhould always be ſimple and natural; and much depends on the proper view which it gives of the ſubject.

"Our enquiry into what is meant here, will be very ſhort; "for who is there, that underſtands any thing of religion, but "knows, that the offering praiſe and thanks to God, implies, "our having a lively and devout ſenſe of his excellencies, and "of his benefits; our recollecting them with humility and "thankfulneſs of heart; and our expreſſing theſe inward affec-

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LECT. XXX. "tions by ſuitable outward ſigns, by reverent and lowly poſ-
"tures of body, by ſongs and hymns, and ſpiritual ejacula-
"tions; either publicly or privately; either in the cuſtomary
"and daily ſervice of the Church, or in its more ſolemn Aſſem-
"blies, convened upon extraordinary occaſions? This is the
"account which every Chriſtian eaſily gives himſelf of it;
"and which, therefore, it would be needleſs to enlarge upon.
"I ſhall only take notice upon this head, that Praiſe and Thankſ-
"giving do, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, ſignify things ſomewhat
"different. Our *praiſe* properly terminates in God, on account
"of his natural excellencies and perfections; and is that act of
"devotion, by which we confeſs and admire his ſeveral attri-
"butes: but *Thankſgiving* is a narrower duty, and imports only
"a grateful ſenſe and acknowledgment of paſt mercies. We
"praiſe God for all his glorious acts of every kind, that regard
"either us or other men; for his very *vengeance*, and thoſe
"*judgments* which he ſometimes ſends *abroad in the earth*; but
"we thank him, properly ſpeaking, for the inſtances of his
"*goodneſs* alone; and for ſuch only of theſe, as we ourſelves
"are ſomeway concerned in. This, I ſay, is what the two
"words ſtrictly imply; but ſince the language of Scripture is
"generally leſs exact, and uſeth either of them often to expreſs
"the other by, I ſhall not think myſelf obliged, in what fol-
"lows, thus nicely always to diſtinguiſh them."

There was room here for inſiſting more fully on the nature of the duty, than the Author has done under this head; in particular, this was the place for correcting the miſtake, to which men are always prone, of making Thankſgiving to conſiſt merely in outward expreſſions; and for ſhewing them, that the eſſence

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of the duty lies in the inward feelings of the heart. In general, it is of much uſe to give full and diſtinct explications of religious duties. But, as our Author intended only one diſcourſe on the ſubject, he could not enlarge with equal fullneſs on every part of it; and he has choſen to dwell on that part, on which indeed it is moſt neceſſary to enlarge, the motives enforcing the duty. For, as it is an eaſier matter to know, than to practiſe duty, the perſuaſive part of the diſcourſe is that to which the Speaker ſhould always bend his chief ſtrength. The account given in this head, of the nature of Praiſe and Thankſgiving, though ſhort, is yet comprehenſive and diſtinct, and the language is ſmooth and elegant.

"Now the great *reaſonableneſs* of this duty of Praiſe or "Thankſgiving, and our ſeveral *obligations* to it, will appear, "if we either conſider it *abſolutely* in itſelf, as the debt of our "natures; or *compare* it with other duties, and ſhew the rank "it bears among them; or ſet out, in the laſt place, ſome of its "peculiar properties and *advantages*, with regard to the devout "performer of it."

THE Author here enters upon the main part of his ſubject, the reaſonableneſs of the duty, and mentions three arguments for proving it. Theſe are well ſtated, and are in themſelves proper and weighty conſiderations. How far he has handled each of them to advantage, will appear as we proceed. I cannot, however, but think that he has omitted one very material part of the argument, which was to have ſhewn the obligations we are under to this duty, from the various ſubjects of Thankſgiving afforded us by the divine goodneſs. This would

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LECT. XXX.

have led him to review the chief benefits of Creation, Providence, and Redemption: and certainly, they are these which lay the foundation of the whole argument for Thankſgiving. The heart muſt firſt be affected with a ſuitable ſenſe of the divine benefits, before one can be excited to praiſe God. If you would perſuade me to be thankful to a benefactor, you muſt not employ ſuch conſiderations merely as thoſe upon which the Author here reſts, taken from gratitude's being the law of my nature, or bearing a high rank among moral duties, or being attended with peculiar advantages. Theſe are conſiderations but of a ſecondary nature. You muſt begin with ſetting before me all that my friend has done for me, if you mean to touch my heart, and to call forth the emotions of gratitude. The caſe is perfectly ſimilar, when we are exhorted to give thanks to God; and, therefore, in giving a full view of the ſubject, the bleſſings conferred on us by divine goodneſs ſhould have been taken into the argument.

It may be ſaid, however, in apology for our Author, that this would have led him into too wide a field for one diſcourſe, and into a field alſo, which is difficult, becauſe ſo beaten, the enumeration of the divine benefits. He therefore ſeems to take it for granted, that we have upon our minds a juſt ſenſe of theſe benefits. He aſſumes them as known and acknowledged; and ſetting aſide what may be called the pathetic part of the ſubject, or what was calculated to warm the heart, he goes on to the reaſoning part. In this management, I cannot altogether blame him. I do not by any means ſay, that it is neceſſary in every diſcourſe to take in all that belongs to the doctrine of which we treat. Many a diſcourſe is ſpoiled, by attempting to

render it too copious and comprehensive. The Preacher may, without reprehension, take up any part of a great subject to which his genius at the time leads him, and make that his theme. But when he omits any thing which may be thought essential, he ought to give notice, that this is a part, which for the time he lays aside. Something of this sort, would perhaps have been proper here. Our Author might have begun, by saying, that the reasonableness of this duty must appear to every thinking being, who reflects upon the infinite obligations which are laid upon us, by creating, preserving, and redeeming love; and, after taking notice that the field which these open, was too wide for him to enter upon at that time, have proceeded to his other heads. Let us now consider these separately.

" The duty of Praise and Thanksgiving, considered *absolutely* " in itself, is, I say, the debt and law of our nature. We had " such faculties bestowed on us by our Creator, as made us ca- " pable of satisfying this debt, and obeying this law; and they " never, therefore, work more naturally and freely, than when " they are thus employed.

" 'Tis one of the earliest instructions given us by philosophy, " and which hath ever since been approved and inculcated by " the wisest men of all ages, that the original design of making " man was, that he might praise and honour him who made " him. When God had finished this goodly frame of things " we call *the world*, and put together the several parts of it, ac- " cording to his infinite wisdom, in exact number, weight, and " measure; there was still wanting a creature, in these lower re-

LECT. XXX.

"gions, that could apprehend the beauty, order, and exquisite "contrivance of it; that from contemplating the gift, might be "able to raise itself to the great Giver, and do honour to all his "attributes. Every thing indeed that God made, did, in some "sense, glorify its Author, inasmuch as it carried upon it the "plain mark and impress of the Deity, and was an effect worthy "of that first cause from whence it flowed; and thus might the "*Heavens* be said, at the first moment in which they stood forth, "*to declare his glory, and the firmament to show his handy-work:* "But this was an imperfect and defective glory; the sign was "of no signification here below, whilst there was no one here "as yet to take notice of it. Man, therefore, was formed to "supply this want, endowed with powers fit to find out, and "to acknowledge these unlimited perfections; and then put into "this Temple of God, this lower world, as the priest of nature, "to offer up the incense of Thanks and Praise for the mute and "insensible part of the Creation.

"This, I say, hath been the opinion all along of the most "thoughtful men down from the most ancient times: and "though it be not demonstrative, yet it is what we cannot but "judge highly reasonable, if we do but allow, that man was "made for some end or other; and that he is capable of per-"ceiving that end. For, then, let us search and enquire never "so much, we shall find no other account of him that we can "rest upon so well. If we say, that he was made purely "for the good pleasure of God; this is, in effect, to say, that "he was made for no determinate end; or for none, at least, "that we can discern. If we say, that he was designed as an "instance of the wisdom, and power, and goodness of God; "this,

LECT. XXX.

" this, indeed, may be the reaſon of his *being* in general; for " 'tis the common reaſon of the being of every thing beſides. " But it gives no account, why he was made *ſuch* a being as he " is, a reflecting, thoughtful, inquiſitive being. The parti-" cular reaſon of this, ſeems moſt aptly to be drawn from the " praiſe and honour that was (not only to redound to God " from him, but) to be given to God by him."

The thought which runs through all this paſſage, of man's being the Prieſt of Nature, and of his exiſtence being calculated chiefly for this end, that he might offer up the praiſes of the mute part of the creation, is an ingenious thought, and well illuſtrated. It was a favourite idea among ſome of the antient philoſophers; and it is not the worſe on that account, as it thereby appears to have been a natural ſentiment of the human mind. In compoſing a Sermon, however, it might have been better to have introduced it as a ſort of collateral argument, or an incidental illuſtration, than to have diſplayed it, with ſo much pomp, and to have placed it in the front of the arguments for this duty. It does not ſeem to me, when placed in this ſtation, to bear all the ſtreſs which the Author lays upon it. When the divine goodneſs brought man into exiſtence, we cannot well conceive that its chief purpoſe was, to form a being who might ſing praiſes to his Maker. Prompted by infinite benevolence, the Supreme Creator formed the human race, that they might riſe to happineſs, and to the enjoyment of himſelf, through a courſe of virtue, or proper action. The ſentiment on which our Author dwells, however beautiful, appears too looſe and rhetorical, to be a principal head of diſcourſe.

LECT. XXX.

"This duty, therefore, is the debt and law of our nature. "And it will more diſtinctly appear to be ſuch, if we conſider "the two ruling faculties of our mind, the *Underſtanding* and "the *Will* apart, in both which it is deeply founded: in the "Underſtanding, as in the principle of Reaſon, which owns "and acknowledges it; in the Will, as in the fountain of "gratitude and return, which prompts, and even conſtrains us "to pay it.

"*Reaſon* was given us as a rule and meaſure, by the help of "which we were to proportion our eſteem of every thing, ac-"cording to the degrees of perfection and goodneſs which we "found therein. It cannot, therefore, if it doth its office at "all, but apprehend God as the beſt and moſt perfect being; "it muſt needs ſee, and own, and admire his infinite perfec-"tions. And this is what is ſtrictly meant by *praiſe*; which, "therefore, is expreſſed in Scripture, by *confeſſing* to *God*, and "*acknowledging* him; by *aſcribing* to him what is his due; "and as far as this ſenſe of the words reaches, 'tis impoſ-"ſible to *think* of God without praiſing him: for it depends "not on the underſtanding, how it ſhall apprehend things, any "more than it doth on the eye, how viſible objects ſhall appear "to it.

"The duty takes the further and ſurer hold of us, by the "means of the will, and that ſtrong bent towards gratitude, "which the Author or our Nature hath implanted in it. There "is not a more active principle than this in the mind of man; "and ſurely that which deſerves its utmoſt force; and ſhould "ſet all its ſprings a-work, is God; the great and univerſal

"Benefactor, from whom alone we received whatever we "either have, or are, and to whom we can poſſibly repay no- "thing but our Praiſes, or (to ſpeak more properly on this "head, and according to the ſtrict import of the word) our "Thankſgiving. *Who hath firſt given to God* (ſaith the great "Apoſtle, in his uſual figure) *and it ſhall be recompenſed unto* "*him again?* A gift, it ſeems, always requires a recompence: "nay, *but of him, and through him, and to him, are all things:* "*of him*, as the Author; *through him*, as the Preſerver and "Governor; *to him*, as the end and perfection of all things: "*to whom, therefore*, (as it follows) be glory for ever, Amen!"

I CANNOT much approve of the light in which our Author places his argument in theſe paragraphs. There is ſomething too metaphyſical and refined, in his deducing, in this manner, the obligation to thankſgiving, from the two faculties of the mind, Underſtanding and Will. Though what he ſays be in itſelf juſt, yet the argument is not ſufficiently plain and ſtriking. Arguments in Sermons, eſpecially on ſubjects that ſo naturally and eaſily ſuggeſt them, ſhould be palpable and popular; ſhould not be brought from topics that appear far ſought, but ſhould directly addreſs the heart and feelings. The Preacher ought never to depart too far from the common ways of thinking, and expreſſing himſelf. I am inclined to think, that this whole head might have been improved, if the Author had taken up more obvious ground; had ſtated Gratitude as one of the moſt natural principles in the human heart; had illuſtrated this, by ſhowing how odious the oppoſite diſpoſition is, and with what general conſent men, in all ages, have agreed in hating, and condemning the ungrateful; and then ap-

LECT. XXX. plying these reasonings to the present case, had placed, in a strong view, that entire corruption of moral sentiment which it discovers, to be destitute of thankful emotions towards the Supreme Benefactor of Mankind. As the most natural method of giving vent to grateful sentiments is, by external expressions of thanksgiving, he might then have answered the objection that is apt to occur, of the expression of our praise being insignificant to the Almighty. But, by seeking to be too refined in his argument, he has omitted some of the most striking and obvious considerations, and which, properly displayed, would have afforded as great a field for Eloquence, as the topics which he has chosen. He goes on,

"GRATITUDE consists in an equal return of benefits, if "we are able; of thanks, if we are not: which thanks, there-"fore, must rise always in proportion as the favours received "are great, and the receiver incapable of making any other sort "of requital. Now, since no man hath benefited God at any "time, and yet every man, in each moment of his life, is con-"tinually benefited by him, what strong obligations must we "needs be under to thank him? 'Tis true, our thanks are real-"ly as insignificant to him, as any other kind of return would "be; in themselves, indeed, they are worthless; but his "goodness hath put a value upon them: he hath declared, he "will accept them in lieu of the vast debt we owe; and after "that, which is fittest for us, to dispute how they came to be "taken as an *equivalent*, or to pay them?"

"IT is, therefore, the voice of nature (as far as gratitude "itself is so) that the good things we receive from above, "should

"ſhould be ſent back again thither in thanks and praiſes; *as the rivers run into the ſea, to the place* (the ocean of beneficence) *from whence the rivers come, thither* ſhould *they return again.*"

In theſe paragraphs, he has, indeed, touched ſome of the conſiderations which I mentioned. But he has only touched them; whereas, with advantage, they might have formed the main body of his argument.

"We have conſidered the duty *abſolutely*; we are now to *compare* it with others, and to ſee what rank it bears among them. And here we ſhall find, that, among all the acts of religion immediately addreſſed to God, this is much the nobleſt and moſt excellent; as it muſt needs be, if what hath been laid down be allowed, that the end of man's creation was to praiſe and glorify God. For that cannot but be the moſt noble and excellent act of any being, which beſt anſwers the end and deſign of it. Other parts of devotion, ſuch as *confeſſion* and *prayer*, ſeem not originally to have been deſigned for man, nor man for them. They imply *guilt* and *want*, with which the *ſtate of innocence* was not acquainted. Had man continued in that eſtate, his worſhip (like the devotions of angels), had been paid to Heaven in pure acts of thankſgiving; and nothing had been left for him to do, beyond the enjoying the good things of life, as nature directed, and praiſing the God of nature who beſtowed them. But being fallen from innocence and abundance; having contracted guilt, and forfeited his right to all ſorts of mercies; prayer and confeſſion became neceſſary, for a time, to re-

"trieve

LECT. XXX. "trieve the loſs, and to reſtore him to that ſtate wherein he "ſhould be able to live without them. Theſe are fitted, there- "fore, for a lower diſpenſation; before which, in paradiſe, "there was nothing but praiſe, and after which, there ſhall be "nothing but that in Heaven. Our perfect ſtate did at firſt, "and will at laſt, conſiſt in the performance of this duty; and "herein, therefore, lies the excellence, and the honour of our "nature.

"'Tis the ſame way of reaſoning, by which the Apoſtle "hath given the preference to charity, beyond faith, and hope, "and every ſpiritual gift. *Charity never faileth*, ſaith he; "meaning, that it is not a virtue uſeful only in this life, but "will accompany us alſo into the next: *but whether there be* "*propheſies, they ſhall fail; whether there be tongues, they ſhall* "*ceaſe; whether there be knowledge, it ſhall vaniſh away.* "Theſe are gifts of a temporary advantage, and ſhall all periſh "in the uſing. *For we know in part, and we propheſy in part*: "our preſent ſtate is imperfect, and, therefore, what belongs "to that, and only that, muſt be imperfect too. *But when that* "*which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be* "*done away.* The argument of St. Paul, we ſee, which ſets "charity above the reſt of Chriſtian graces, will give praiſe alſo "the pre-eminence over all the parts of Chriſtian worſhip; and "we may conclude our reaſoning, therefore, as he doth his: "*And now abideth confeſſion, prayer, and praiſe, theſe three*; "*but the greateſt of theſe is praiſe.*"

The Author, here, enters on the ſecond part of his argument, the high rank which thankſgiving holds, when compared with

with other duties of religion. This he handles, with much eloquence and beauty. His idea, that this was the original worſhip of man, before his fall rendered other duties requiſite, and ſhall continue to be his worſhip in Heaven, when the duties which are occaſioned by a conſciouſneſs of guilt ſhall have no place, is ſolid and juſt; his illuſtration of it is very happy; and the ſtyle extremely flowing and ſweet. Seldom do we meet with any piece of compoſition in Sermons, that has more merit than this head.

"It is ſo, certainly, on other accounts, as well as this; par-"ticularly, as it is the moſt *diſintereſted* branch of our religious "ſervice; ſuch as hath the moſt of God, and the leaſt of our-"ſelves in it, of any we pay; and therefore approaches the "neareſt of any to a pure, and free, and perfect act of homage. "For though a good action doth not grow immediately worth-"leſs by being done with the proſpect of advantage, as ſome "have ſtrangely imagined; yet it will be allowed, I ſuppoſe, "that its being done, without the mixture of that end, or with "as little of it as poſſible, recommends it ſo much the more, "and raiſes the price of it. *Doth* Job *fear God for nought?* "was an objection of Satan; which implied, that thoſe duties "were moſt valuable, where our own intereſt was leaſt aimed "at: and God ſeems, by the commiſſion he then gave Satan, "to try experiments upon *Job*, thus far to have allowed his "plea. Now, our requeſts for future, and even our acknow-"ledgments of paſt mercies, center purely in ourſelves; our "own intereſt is the direct aim of them. But praiſe is a "generous and unmercenary principle, which propoſes no "other end to itſelf, but to do, as is fit for a creature endowed

LECT. XXX.

"with ſuch faculties to do, towards the moſt perfect and bene-"ficent of beings; and to pay the willing tribute of honour "there, where the voice of Reaſon directs us to pay it. God "hath, indeed, annexed a bleſſing to the duty; and when we "know this, we cannot chooſe, while we are performing the "duty, but have ſome regard to the bleſſing which belongs to "it. However, that is not the direct aim of our devotions, "nor was it the firſt motive that ſtirred us up to them. Had it "been ſo, we ſhould naturally have betaken ourſelves to "Prayer, and breathed out our deſires in that form wherein "they are moſt properly conveyed.

"In ſhort, Praiſe is our moſt excellent work, a work com-"mon to the church triumphant and militant, and which lifts "us up into communion and fellowſhip with Angels. The "matter about which it is converſant, is always the perfections "of God's nature; and the act itſelf, is the perfection of "ours."

Our Author's ſecond illuſtration, is taken from praiſe being the moſt diſintereſted act of homage. This he explains juſtly and elegantly; though, perhaps, the conſideration is rather too thin and refined for enforcing religious duties: as creatures, ſuch as we, in approaching to the divine preſence, can never be ſuppoſed to lay aſide all conſideration of our own wants and neceſſities; and certainly are not required (as the Author admits) to diveſt ourſelves of ſuch regards. The concluding Sentence of this head is elegant and happily expreſſed.

"I come

"I COME now, in the laſt place, to ſet out ſome of its pecu- "liar *properties and advantages*, which recommend it to the "devout performer. And,

"1. IT is the moſt *pleaſing* part of our devotions: it pro- "ceeds always from a lively cheerful temper of mind, and it "cheriſhes and improves what it proceeds from. *For it is good* "*to ſing praiſes unto our God* (ſays one, whoſe experience, in "this caſe, we may rely upon), *for it is pleaſant, and praiſe is* "*comely*. Petition and Confeſſion are the language of the indi- "gent and the guilty, the breathings of a ſad and contrite ſpi- "rit: *Is any afflicted? let him pray*; but, *Is any merry? let* "*him ſing pſalms*. The moſt uſual and natural way of men's "expreſſing the mirth of their hearts is in a ſong, and ſongs "are the very language of praiſe; to the expreſſing of which "they are in a peculiar manner appropriated, and are ſcarce of "any other uſe in Religion. Indeed, the whole compoſition of "this duty is ſuch, as throughout ſpeaks eaſe and delight to the "mind. It proceeds from *Love* and from *Thankfulneſs*; from "*Love*, the fountain of pleaſure, the paſſion which gives every "thing we do, or enjoy, its reliſh and agreeableneſs. From "*Thankfulneſs*, which involves in it the memory of paſt bene- "fits, the actual preſence of them to the mind, and the repeated "enjoyment of them. And as is its principle, ſuch is its end alſo: "for it procureth quiet and eaſe to the mind, by doing ſome- "what towards ſatisfying that debt which it labours under; by "delivering it of thoſe thoughts of praiſe and gratitude, thoſe "exultations it is ſo full of; and which would grow uneaſy and "troubleſome to it, if they were kept in. If the thankful *re-* "*frained, it would be pain and grief* to them; but then, then

LECT. XXX.

"*is their soul satisfied as with marrow and fatness, when their*
"*mouth praiseth God with joyful lips.*"

In beginning this head of discourse, the expression which the Author uses, to *set out some of its peculiar properties and advantages*, would now be reckoned not so proper an expression, as *to point out*, or *to show*. The first subdivision concerning praise being the most pleasant part of devotion, is very just and well expressed, as far as it goes; but seems to me rather defective. Much more might have been said, upon the pleasure that accompanies such exalted acts of devotion. It was a cold thought, to dwell upon its disburdening the mind of a debt. The Author should have insisted more upon the influence of Praise and Thanksgiving, in warming, gladdening, soothing the mind; lifting it above the world, to dwell among divine and eternal objects. He should have described the peace and joy which then expand the heart, the relief which this exercise procures from the cares and agitations of life; the encouraging views of Providence to which it leads our attention; and the trust which it promotes in the divine mercy for the future, by the commemoration of benefits past. In short, this was the place for his pouring out a greater flow of devotional sentiments than what we here find.

"2. It is another distinguishing property of divine praise, "that it enlargeth the powers and capacities of our souls, turning them from low and little things, upon their greatest and "noblest object, the divine nature, and employing them in the "discovery and admiration of those several perfections that "adorn it. We see what difference there is between man and

"man, ſuch as there is hardly greater between man and beaſt; "and this proceeds chiefly from the different ſphere of thought "which they act in, and the different objects they converſe with. "The mind is eſſentially the ſame, in the peaſant and the prince; "the force of it naturally equal, in the untaught man, and the "philoſopher; only the one of theſe is buſied in mean affairs, "and within narrower bounds; the other exerciſes himſelf in "things of weight and moment; and this it is, that puts the wide "diſtance between them. Noble objects are to the mind, what "the ſun-beams are to a bud or flower; they open and unfold, "as it were, the leaves of it; put it upon exerting and ſpread-"ing itſelf every way; and call forth all thoſe powers that lie "hid and locked up in it. The praiſe and admiration of God, "therefore, brings this advantage along with it, that it ſets our "faculties upon their full ſtretch, and improves them to all the "degrees of perfection of which they are capable."

This head is juſt, well expreſſed, and to cenſure it might appear hypercritical. Some of the expreſſions, however, one would think, might be amended. The ſimile, for inſtance, about the effects of the ſun-beams upon the bud or flower, is pretty, but not correctly expreſſed. *They open and unfold, as it were, the leaves of it.* If this is to be literally applied to the flower, the phraſe, *as it were*, is needleſs; if it is to be metaphorically underſtood (which appears to be the caſe), the *leaves of the mind*, is harſh language; beſides that, *put it upon exerting itſelf*, is rather a low expreſſion. Nothing is more nice than to manage properly ſuch ſimilies and alluſions, ſo as to preſerve them perfectly correct, and at the ſame time to render the image lively: it might perhaps be amended in ſome ſuch

LECT. XXX.

way as this: "As the sun-beams open the bud, and unfold the "leaves of a flower, noble objects have a like effect upon the "mind: they expand and spread it, and call forth those powers "that before lay hid and locked up in the soul."

"3. It farther promotes in us an exquisite sense of God's "honour, and an high indignation of mind at every thing that "openly profanes it. For what we value and delight in, we "cannot with patience hear slighted or abused. Our own "praises, which we are constantly putting up, will be a *spur* to "us toward procuring and promoting the divine glory in every "other instance; and will make us set our faces against all open "and avowed impieties; which, methinks, should be considered "a little by such as would be thought not to be wanting in this "duty, and yet are often silent under the foulest dishonours "done to Religion, and its great Author: For tamely to hear "God's name and worship vilified by others, is no very good "argument that we have been used to honour and reverence "him, in good earnest, ourselves."

The thought here is well founded, though it is carelessly and loosely brought out. The Sentence, *our own praises which we are constantly putting up, will be a spur to us toward procuring and promoting the divine glory in every other instance*, is both negligent in language, and ambiguous in meaning; for *our own praises*, properly signifies the praises of ourselves. Much better if he had said, "Those devout praises which we constantly offer "up to the Almighty, will naturally prompt us to promote the "divine glory in every other instance."

"4. It

"4. It will, beyond all this, work in us a deep humility "and consciousness of our own imperfections. Upon a frequent "attention to God and his attributes, we shall easily discover "our own weakness and emptiness; our swelling thoughts of "ourselves will abate, and we shall see and feel that we are *al-"together lighter to be laid in the balance than vanity*; and this "is a lesson which, to the greatest part of mankind is, I think, "very well worth learning. We are naturally presumptuous "and vain; full of ourselves, and regardless of every thing be-"sides, especially when some little outward privileges distinguish "us from the rest of mankind; then, 'tis odds, but we look into "ourselves with great degrees of complacency, *and are wiser* "(and better every way) *in our own conceit, than seven men that* "*can render a reason.* Now nothing will contribute so much "to the cure of this vanity, as a due attention to God's excel-"lencies and perfections. By comparing these with those which "we imagine belong to us, we shall learn, *not to think more* "*highly of ourselves than we ought to think of ourselves*, but *to* "*think soberly*; we shall find more satisfaction in looking up-"wards, and humbling ourselves before our common Creator, "than in casting our eyes downward with scorn upon our fel-"low creatures, and setting at nought any part of the work "of his hands. The vast distance we are at from real and "infinite Worth, will astonish us so much, that we shall not be "tempted to value ourselves upon these lesser degrees of pre-"eminence, which custom or opinion, or some little accidental "advantages have given us over other men."

Though the thought here also be just, yet a like defi-ciency in elegance and beauty appears. The phrase *'tis odds*,

LECT. XXX. *but we look into ourselves with great degrees of complacency*, is much too low and colloquial for a Sermon—he might have said, *we are likely*, or *we are prone* to look into ourselves.—*Comparing these with those which we imagine to belong to us*, is also very careless style.—*By comparing these with the virtues and abilities which we ascribe to ourselves, we shall learn*—would have been purer and more correct.

"5. I SHALL mention but one use of it more, and 'tis "this; that a conscientious praise of God will keep us back "from all false and mean praise, all fulsome and servile flat-"teries, such as are in use among men. Praising, as 'tis com-"monly managed, is nothing else but a trial of skill upon a "man, how many good things we can possibly say of him. "All the treasures of Oratory are ransacked, and all the fine "things that ever were said, are heaped together for his "sake; and no matter whether it belongs to him or not; so "there be but enough on't. Which is one deplorable instance, "among a thousand, of the baseness of human nature, of its "small regard to truth and justice; to right or wrong; to "what is, or is not to be praised. But he who hath a deep "sense of the excellencies of God upon his heart, will make a "God of nothing besides. He will give every one his just en-"comium, honour where honour is due, and as much as is "due, because it is his duty to do so; but the honour of God "will suffer him to go no further. Which rule, if it had been "observed, a neighbouring prince (who now, God be thanked, "needs flattery a great deal more than ever he did), would "have wanted a great deal of that incense which hath been of-"fered up to him by his adorers."

THIS

This head appears ſcarcely to deſerve any place among the more important topics, that naturally preſented themſelves on this ſubject; at leaſt, it had much better have wanted the application which the Author makes of his reaſoning to the flatterers of Louis XIV.; and the thanks which he offers to God, for the affairs of that prince being in ſo low a ſtate, that he now needed flattery more than ever. This Political Satire is altogether out of place, and unworthy of the ſubject.

One would be inclined to think, upon reviewing our Author's arguments, that he has overlooked ſome topics, reſpecting the happy conſequences of this duty, of fully as much importance as any that he has inſerted. Particularly, he ought not to have omitted the happy tendency of praiſe and thankſgiving, to ſtrengthen good diſpoſitions in the heart; to promote love to God, and imitation of thoſe perfections which we adore; and to infuſe a ſpirit of ardour and zeal into the whole of religion, as the ſervice of our benefactor. Theſe are conſequences which naturally follow from the proper performance of this duty; and which ought not to have been omitted; as no opportunity ſhould be loſt, of ſhowing the good effect of devotion on practical religion and moral virtue; and pointing out the neceſſary connection of the one with the other. For certainly the great end of Preaching is, to make men better in all the relations of life, and to promote that complete reformation of heart and conduct, in which true Chriſtianity conſiſts. Our Author, however, upon the whole, is not deficient in ſuch views of religion; for, in his general ſtrain of preaching, as he is extremely pious, ſo he is, at the ſame time, practical and moral.

LECT. XXX.

His summing up of the whole argument, in the next paragraph is elegant and beautiful; and such concluding views of the subject are frequently very proper and useful: "Upon "these grounds doth the duty of praise stand, and these are "the obligations that bind us to the performance of it. 'Tis "the end of our being, and the very rule and law of our "nature; flowing from the two great fountains of human "action, the understanding and the will, naturally, and almost "necessarily. It is the most excellent part of our religious "worship; enduring to eternity, after the rest shall be *done* "*away;* and paid, even now, in the frankest manner, with "the least regard to our own interest. It recommends itself "to us by several peculiar properties and advantages; as it "carries more pleasure in it, than all other kinds of devotion; "as it enlarges and exalts the several powers of the mind; as "it breeds in us an exquisite sense of God's honour, and a "willingness to promote it in the world; as it teaches us to be "humble and lowly ourselves, and yet preserves us from base "and sordid flattery, from bestowing mean and undue praises "upon others."

After this, our Author addresses himself to two classes of men, the Careless and the Profane. His address to the Careless is beautiful, and pathetic; that to the Profane, is not so well executed, and is liable to some objection. Such addresses appear to me to be, on several occasions, very useful parts of a discourse. They prevailed much in the strain of preaching before the Restoration; and, perhaps, since that period, have been too much neglected. They afford an opportunity of bringing home to the consciences of the audience, many things,

which,

which, in the courſe of the Sermon, were, perhaps, delivered in the abſtract. LECT. XXX.

I SHALL not dwell on the Concluſion of the Sermon, which is chiefly employed in obſervations on the poſture of public affairs at that time. Conſidered, upon the whole, this Diſcourſe of Biſhop Atterbury's is both uſeful and beautiful, though I have ventured to point out ſome defects in it. Seldom, or never, can we expect to meet with a compoſition of any kind, which is abſolutely perfect in all its parts: and when we take into account the difficulties which I before ſhowed to attend the Eloquence of the Pulpit, we have, perhaps, leſs reaſon to look for perfection in a Sermon, than in any other compoſition.

LECTURE XXXI.

CONDUCT OF A DISCOURSE IN ALL ITS PARTS—INTRODUCTION—DIVISION—NARRATION AND EXPLICATION.

LECT. XXXI.

I HAVE, in the four preceding Lectures, confidered what is peculiar to each of the three great fields of Public Speaking, Popular Affemblies, the Bar, and the Pulpit. I am now to treat of what is common to them all; of the conduct of a Difcourfe or Oration, in general. The previous view which I have given of the diftinguifhing fpirit and character of different kinds of Public Speaking, was neceffary for the proper application of the rules which I am about to deliver; and as I proceed, I fhall farther point out, how far any of thefe rules may have a particular refpect to the Bar, to the Pulpit, or to Popular Courts.

ON whatever fubject any one intends to difcourfe, he will moft commonly begin with fome introduction, in order

order to prepare the minds of his hearers; he will then ſtate his ſubject, and explain the facts connected with it; he will employ arguments for eſtabliſhing his own opinion, and overthrowing that of his antagoniſt; he may perhaps, if there be room for it, endeavour to touch the paſſions of his Audience; and after having ſaid all he thinks proper, he will bring his Diſcourſe to a cloſe, by ſome Peroration or Concluſion. This being the natural train of Speaking, the parts that compoſe a regular formal Oration, are theſe ſix; firſt, the Exordium or Introduction; ſecondly, the State, and the Diviſion of the Subject; thirdly, Narration, or Explication; fourthly, the Reaſoning or Arguments; fifthly, the Pathetic Part; and laſtly, the Concluſion. I do not mean, that each of theſe muſt enter into every Public Diſcourſe, or that they muſt enter always in this order. There is no reaſon for being ſo formal on every occaſion; nay, it would often be a fault, and would render a Diſcourſe pedantic and ſtiff. There may be many excellent Diſcourſes in public, where ſeveral of theſe parts are altogether wanting; where the Speaker, for inſtance, uſes no Introduction, but enters directly on his ſubject; where he has no occaſion either to divide or explain; but ſimply reaſons on one ſide of the queſtion, and then finiſhes. But as the parts, which I mentioned, are the natural conſtituent parts of a regular Oration; and as in every Diſcourſe whatever, ſome of them muſt be found, it is neceſſary to our preſent purpoſe, that I ſhould treat of each of them diſtinctly.

I BEGIN, of courſe, with the Exordium or Introduction. This is manifeſtly common to all the three kinds of Public Speaking. It is not a rhetorical invention. It is founded

upon

LECT. XXXI.

upon nature, and suggested by common sense. When one is going to counsel another; when he takes upon him to instruct, or to reprove, prudence will generally direct him not to do it abruptly, but to use some preparation; to begin with somewhat that may incline the persons, to whom he addresses himself, to judge favourably of what he is about to say; and may dispose them to such a train of thought, as will forward and assist the purpose which he has in view. This is, or ought to be, the main scope of an Introduction. Accordingly Cicero and Quinctilian mention three ends, to one or other of which it should be subservient, "Reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles."

First, To conciliate the good will of the hearers; to render them benevolent, or well-affected to the Speaker and to the subject. Topics for this purpose may, in Causes at the Bar, be sometimes taken from the particular situation of the Speaker himself, or of his client, or from the character or behaviour of his antagonists contrasted with his own; on other occasions, from the nature of the subject, as closely connected with the interest of the hearers: and, in general, from the modesty and good intention, with which the Speaker enters upon his subject. The second end of an Introduction, is, to raise the attention of the hearers; which may be effected, by giving them some hints of the importance, dignity, or novelty of the subject; or some favourable view of the clearness and precision with which we are to treat it; and of the brevity with which we are to discourse. The third end, is to render the hearers docile, or open to persuasion; for which end, we must begin with studying to

remove

remove any particular prepossessions they may have contracted against the cause, or side of the argument which we espouse.

Some one of these ends should be proposed by every Introduction. When there is no occasion for aiming at any of them; when we are already secure of the good will, the attention, and the docility of the Audience, as may often be the case, formal Introductions can, without any prejudice, be omitted. And, indeed, when they serve for no purpose but mere ostentation, they had, for the most part, better be omitted; unless as far as respect to the Audience makes it decent, that a Speaker should not break in upon them too abruptly, but by a short exordium prepare them for what he is going to say. Demosthenes's Introductions are always short and simple; Cicero's are fuller and more artful.

The ancient Critics distinguish two kinds of Introductions, which they call "Principium," and "Insinuatio." "Principium" is, where the Orator plainly and directly professes his aim in speaking. "Insinuatio" is, where a larger compass must be taken; and where, presuming the disposition of the Audience to be much against the Orator, he must gradually reconcile them to hearing him, before he plainly discovers the point which he has in view.

Of this latter sort of Introduction, we have an admirable instance in Cicero's second Oration against Rullus. This Rullus was Tribune of the People, and had proposed an Agrarian Law; the purpose of which was to create a Decemvirate, or ten Commissioners, with absolute power for five years over all the lands conquered

LECT. XXXI.

conquered by the Republic, in order to divide them among the citizens. Such laws had often been proposed by factious magistrates, and were always greedily received by the people. Cicero is speaking to the people; he had newly been made Consul by their interest; and his first attempt is to make them reject this law. The subject was extremely delicate, and required much art. He begins with acknowledging all the favours which he had received from the people, in preference to the nobility. He professes himself the creature of their power, and of all men the most engaged to promote their interest. He declares, that he held himself to be the Consul of the People; and that he would always glory in preserving the character of a popular magistrate. But to be popular, he observes, is an ambiguous word. He understood it to import, a steady attachment to the real interest of the people, to their liberty, their ease, and their peace; but by some, he saw, it was abused, and made a cover to their own selfish and ambitious designs. In this manner, he begins to draw gradually nearer to his purpose of attacking the proposal of Rullus; but still with great management and reserve. He protests, that he is far from being an enemy to Agrarian Laws; he gives the highest praises to the Gracchi, those zealous patrons of the people; and assures them, that when he first heard of Rullus's law, he had resolved to support it, if he found it for their interest; but that, upon examining it, he found it calculated to establish a dominion that was inconsistent with liberty, and to aggrandize a few men at the expence of the public: and then terminates his exordium, with telling them, that he is going to give his reasons for being of this opinion; but that if his reasons shall not satisfy them, he will give up his own opinion, and embrace theirs. In all this,

there was great art. His Eloquence produced the intended effect; and the people, with one voice, rejected this Agrarian Law. LECT. XXXI.

Having given these general views of the nature and end of an Introduction, I proceed to lay down some rules for the proper composition of it. These are the more necessary, that this is a part of the Discourse which requires no small care. It is always of importance to begin well; to make a favourable impression at first setting out; when the minds of the hearers, vacant as yet and free, are most disposed to receive any impression easily. I must add too, that a good Introduction is often found to be extremely difficult. Few parts of the Discourse give the Composer more trouble, or are attended with more nicety in the execution.

The first rule is, that the Introduction should be easy and natural. The subject must always suggest it. It must appear, as Cicero beautifully expresses it: "Effloruisse penitus ex re de "qua tum agitur *." It is too common a fault in Introductions, that they are taken from some common-place topic, which has no peculiar relation to the subject in hand; by which means they stand apart, like pieces detached from the rest of the Discourse. Of this kind are Sallust's Introductions, prefixed to his Catilinarian and Jugurthine wars. They might as well have been Introductions to any other History, or to any other Treatise whatever: and, therefore, though elegant in themselves,

* "To have sprung up, of its own accord, from the matter which is under "consideration."

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LECT. XXXI. they must be considered as blemishes in the work, from want of due connection with it. Cicero, though abundantly correct in this particular in his Orations, yet is not so in his other works. It appears from a letter of his to Atticus (L. xvi. 6.) that it was his custom to prepare, at his leisure, a collection of different Introductions or Prefaces, ready to be prefixed to any work that he might afterwards publish. In consequence of this strange method of composing, it happened to him, to employ the same Introduction twice, without remembering it; prefixing it to two different works. Upon Atticus informing him of this, he acknowledges the mistake, and sends him a new Introduction.

In order to render Introductions natural and easy, it is, in my opinion, a good rule, that they should not be planned, till after one has meditated in his own mind the substance of his Discourse. Then, and not till then, he should begin to think of some proper and natural Introduction. By taking a contrary course, and labouring in the first place on an Introduction, every one who is accustomed to composition will often find, that either he is led to lay hold of some common-place topic, or, that instead of the Introduction being accommodated to the Discourse, he is obliged to accommodate the whole Discourse to the Introduction which he had previously written. Cicero makes this remark; though, as we have seen, his practice was not always conformable to his own rule. "Omnibus rebus consideratis, "tum denique id quod primum est dicendum, postremum soleo "cogitare, quo utar exordio. Nam si quando id primum "invenire volui, nullum mihi occurrit, nisi aut exile, aut nuga-

"torium,

"torium, aut vulgare *." After the mind has been once warmed and put in train, by close meditation on the subject, materials for the Preface will then suggest themselves much more readily.

In the second place, In an Introduction, correctness should be carefully studied in the expression. This is requisite, on account of the situation of the hearers. They are then more disposed to criticise than at any other period; they are, as yet, unoccupied with the subject or the arguments; their attention is wholly directed to the Speaker's style and manner. Something must be done, therefore, to prepossess them in his favour; though for the same reasons, too much art must be avoided; for it will be more easily detected at that time, than afterwards; and will derogate from persuasion in all that follows. A correct plainness, an elegant simplicity, is the proper character of an Introduction; "ut videamur," says Quinctilian, "accuratè non callidè dicere."

In the third place, Modesty is another character which it must carry. All appearances of modesty are favourable, and prepossessing. If the Orator set out with an air of arrogance and ostentation, the self-love and pride of the hearers will be presently awakened, and will follow him with a very suspicious eye throughout all his progress. His modesty should discover

* "When I have planned and digested all the materials of my Discourse, it "is my custom to think, in the last place, of the Introduction with which I am "to begin. For if, at any time, I have endeavoured to invent an Introduc"tion first, nothing has ever occurred to me for that purpose, but what was "trifling, nugatory, and vulgar."

LECT. XXXI. itſelf not only in his expreſſions at the beginning, but in his whole manner; in his looks, in his geſtures, in the tone of his voice. Every auditory take in good part thoſe marks of reſpect and awe, which are paid to them by one who addreſſes them. Indeed the modeſty of an Introduction ſhould never betray any thing mean or abject. It is always of great uſe to an Orator, that together with modeſty and deference to his hearers, he ſhould ſhow a certain ſenſe of dignity, ariſing from a perſuaſion of the juſtice, or importance, of the ſubject on which he is to ſpeak.

The modeſty of an Introduction requires, that it promiſe not too much. "Non fumum ex fulgore, ſed ex fumo dare "lucem *." This certainly is the general rule, that an Orator ſhould not put forth all his ſtrength at the beginning; but ſhould riſe and grow upon us, as his Diſcourſe advances. There are caſes, however, in which it is allowable for him to ſet out from the firſt in a high and bold tone; as, for inſtance, when he riſes to defend ſome cauſe which has been much run down, and decried by the Public. Too modeſt a beginning, might be then like a confeſſion of guilt. By the boldneſs and ſtrength of his Exordium, he muſt endeavour to ſtem the tide that is againſt him, and to remove prejudices, by encountering them without fear. In ſubjects too of a declamatory nature,

* He does not laviſh at a blaze his fire,
Sudden to glare, and then in ſmoke expire;
But riſes from a cloud of ſmoke to light,
And pours his ſpecious miracles to ſight.

Hor. Ars Poet. Francis.

and

and in Sermons, where the ſubject is ſtriking, a magnificent Introduction has ſometimes a good effect, if it be properly ſupported in the ſequel. Thus Biſhop Atterbury, in beginning an eloquent Sermon, preached on the 30th of January, the Anniverſary of what is called King Charles's Martyrdom, ſets out in this pompous manner: "This is a day of Trouble, of "Rebuke, and of Blaſphemy; diſtinguiſhed in the Calendar of "our Church, and the annals of our Nation, by the ſufferings "of an excellent Prince, who fell a ſacrifice to the rage of "his rebellious ſubjects; and, by his fall, derived infamy, "miſery, and guilt on them, and their ſinful poſterity." Boſſuet, Flechier, and the other celebrated French Preachers very often begin their Diſcourſes with laboured and ſublime Introductions. Theſe raiſe attention, and throw a luſtre on the ſubject: but let every Speaker be much on his guard againſt ſtriking a higher note at the beginning, than he is able to keep up in his progreſs.

In the fourth place, An Introduction ſhould uſually be carried on in the calm manner. This is ſeldom the place for vehemence and paſſion. Emotions muſt riſe, as the Diſcourſe advances. The minds of the hearers muſt be gradually prepared, before the Speaker can venture on ſtrong and paſſionate ſentiments. The exceptions to this rule are, when the ſubject is ſuch, that the very mention of it naturally awakens ſome paſſionate emotion; or when the unexpected preſence of ſome perſon or object, in a Popular Aſſembly, inflames the Speaker, and makes him break forth with unuſual warmth. Either of theſe will juſtify what is called, the Exordium *ab abrupto*. Thus the appearance of Catiline in the Senate, renders the vehement

beginning of Cicero's first Oration against him very natural and proper. "Quousque tandem, Catilina, abutere patientia nostra?" And thus Bishop Atterbury, in preaching from this text, "Blessed "is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me," ventures on breaking forth with this bold Exordium; "And can any man "then be offended in thee, blessed Jesus?" which address to our Saviour, he continues for a page or two, till he enters on the division of his subject. But such Introductions as these should be hazarded by very few, as they promise so much vehemence and unction through the rest of the Discourse, that it is very difficult to fulfil the expectations of the hearers.

At the same time, though the Introduction is not the place in which warm emotions are usually to be attempted, yet I must take notice, that it ought to prepare the way for such as are designed to be raised in subsequent parts of the Discourse. The Orator should, in the beginning, turn the minds of his hearers towards those sentiments and feelings which he seeks to awaken in the course of his Speech. According, for instance, as it is compassion, or indignation, or contempt, on which his Discourse is to rest, he ought to sow the seeds of these in his Introduction; he ought to begin with breathing that spirit which he means to inspire. Much of the Orator's art and ability is shown, in thus striking properly at the commencement, the key note, if we may so express it, of the rest of his Oration.

In the fifth place, It is a rule in Introductions, not to anticipate any material part of the subject. When topics, or arguments, which are afterwards to be enlarged upon, are hinted

at, and, in part, brought forth in the Introduction, they lose the grace of novelty upon their second appearance. The impression intended to be made by any capital thought, is always made with the greatest advantage, when it is made entire, and in its proper place.

In the last place, The Introduction ought to be proportioned, both in length and in kind, to the discourse that is to follow: in length, as nothing can be more absurd than to erect a very great portico before a small building; and in kind, as it is no less absurd to overcharge, with superb ornaments, the portico of a plain dwelling-house, or to make the entrance to a monument as gay as that to an arbour. Common sense directs, that every part of a Discourse should be suited to the strain and spirit of the whole.

These are the principal rules that relate to Introductions. They are adapted, in a great measure, equally, to Discourses of all kinds. In Pleadings at the Bar, or Speeches in Public Assemblies, particular care must be taken not to employ any Introduction of that kind, which the adverse party may lay hold of, and turn to his advantage. To this inconvenience, all those Introductions are exposed, which are taken from general and common-place topics; and it never fails to give an adversary a considerable triumph, if, by giving a small turn to something we had said in our Exordium, he can appear to convert, to his own favour, the principles with which we had set out, in beginning our attack upon him. In the case of Replies, Quinctilian makes an observation which is very worthy of notice; that Introductions, drawn from something that has

LECT. XXXI. been ſaid in the courſe of the Debate, have always a peculiar grace; and the reaſon he gives for it is juſt and ſenſible: "Multum gratiæ exordio eſt, quod ab actione diverſæ partis "materiam trahit; hoc ipſo, quod non compoſitum domi, ſed "ibi atque e re natum; et facilitate famam ingenii auget; et "facie ſimplicis, ſumptique e proximo ſermonis, fidem quo- "que acquirit; adeo, ut etiamſi reliqua ſcripta atque elaborata "ſint, tamen videatur tota extemporalis oratio, cujus initium "nihil preparatum habuiſſe, manifeſtum eſt *."

In Sermons, ſuch a practice as this cannot take place; and, indeed, in compoſing Sermons, few things are more difficult than to remove an appearance of ſtiffneſs from an Introduction, when a formal one is uſed. The French Preachers, as I before obſerved, are often very ſplendid and lively in their Introductions; but, among us, attempts of this kind are not always ſo ſucceſsful. When long Introductions are formed upon ſome common-place topic, as the deſire of happineſs being natural to man, or the like, they never fail of being tedious. Variety ſhould be ſtudied in this part of compoſition as much as poſſible; often it may be proper to begin without any Introduction at all, unleſs, perhaps, one or two Sentences. Ex-

* "An Introduction, which is founded upon the pleading of the oppoſite "party, is extremely graceful; for this reaſon, that it appears not to have "been meditated at home, but to have taken riſe from the buſineſs, and to "have been compoſed on the ſpot. Hence, it gives to the Speaker the re- "putation of a quick invention, and adds weight likewiſe to his Diſcourſe, as "artleſs and unlaboured; inſomuch, that though all the reſt of his Oration "ſhould be ſtudied and written, yet the whole Diſcourſe has the appearance "of being extemporary, as it is evident that the Introduction to it was un- "premeditated."

planatory

planatory Introductions from the context, are the most simple of any, and frequently the best that can be used: but as they are in hazard of becoming dry, they should never be long. A Historical Introduction has, generally, a happy effect to rouze attention; when one can lay hold upon some noted fact that is connected with the Text or the Discourse, and, by a proper deduction of it, open the way to the subject that is to be treated of.

After the Introduction, what commonly comes next in order, is, the Proposition, or Enunciation of the Subject; concerning which there is nothing to be said, but that it should be as clear and distinct as possible, and expressed in few and plain words, without the least affectation. To this, generally succeeds the Division, or the laying down the method of the Discourse; on which it is necessary to make some observations. I do not mean, that, in every Discourse, a formal Division, or Distribution of it into parts, is requisite. There are many occasions of Public Speaking, when this is neither requisite, nor would be proper; when the Discourse, perhaps, is to be short, or only one point is to be treated of; or when the Speaker does not chuse to warn his hearers of the method he is to follow, or of the conclusion to which he seeks to bring them. Order of one kind or other is, indeed, essential to every good Discourse; that is, every thing should be so arranged as that what goes before, may give light and force to what follows after. But this may be accomplished by means of a concealed method. What we call Division, is, when the method is propounded in form to the hearers.

The Discourse in which this sort of Division most commonly takes place, is a Sermon; and a question has been moved, whether this method of laying down heads, as it is called, be the best method of preaching. A very able Judge, the Archbishop of Cambray, in his Dialogues on Eloquence, declares strongly against it. He observes, that it is a modern invention; that it was never practised by the Fathers of the Church; and, what is certainly true, that it took its rise from the schoolmen, when metaphysics began to be introduced into preaching. He is of opinion, that it renders a Sermon stiff; that it breaks the unity of the Discourse; and that, by the natural connection of one part with another, the attention of the hearers would be carried along the whole with more advantage.

But, notwithstanding his authority and his arguments, I cannot help being of opinion, that the present method of dividing a Sermon into heads, ought not to be laid aside. Established practice has now given it so much weight, that, were there nothing more in its favour, it would be dangerous for any Preacher to deviate so far from the common tract. But the practice itself has also, in my judgment, much reason on its side. If formal partitions give a Sermon less of the oratorial appearance, they render it, however, more clear, more easily apprehended, and, of course, more instructive to the bulk of hearers, which is always the main object to be kept in view. The heads of a Sermon are great assistances to the memory, and recollection of a hearer. They serve also to fix his attention. They enable him more easily to keep pace with the progress of the Discourse; they give him pauses and resting places, where he can reflect on what has been said, and look

LECT. XXXI.

look forward to what is to follow. They are attended with this advantage too, that they give the audience the opportunity of knowing, before hand, when they are to be released from the fatigue of attention, and thereby make them follow the Speaker more patiently: "Reficit audientem," says Quinctilian, taking notice of this very advantage of Divisions in other Discourses, "Reficit audientem certo singularum partium fine; "non aliter quàm facientibus iter, multum detrahunt fatiga-"tionis notata spatia inscriptis lapidibus: nam et exhausti la-"boris nôsse mensuram voluptati est; et hortatur ad reliqua "fortius exequenda, scire quantum supersit*." With regard to breaking the Unity of a Discourse, I cannot be of opinion that there arises, from that quarter, any argument against the method I am defending. If the Unity be broken, it is to the nature of the heads, or topics of which the Speaker treats, that this is to be imputed; not to his laying them down in form. On the contrary, if his heads be well-chosen, his marking them out, and distinguishing them, in place of impairing the Unity of the whole, renders it more conspicuous and complete; by showing how all the parts of a Discourse hang upon one another, and tend to one point.

In a Sermon, or in a Pleading, or any Discourse, where Division is proper to be used, the most material rules are,

* "The conclusion of each head is a relief to the hearers; just as, upon a "journey, the mile-stones, which are set up on the road, serve to diminish "the traveller's fatigue. For we are always pleased with seeing our labour "begin to lessen; and, by calculating how much remains, are stirred up to "finish our task more cheerfully."

First, That the feveral parts into which the fubject is divided, be really diftinct from one another; that is, that no one include another. It were a very abfurd Divifion, for inftance, if one fhould propofe to treat firft, of the advantages of Virtue, and next, of thofe of Juftice or Temperance; becaufe, the firft head evidently comprehends the fecond, as a Genus does the Species; which method of proceeding involves the fubject in indiftinctnefs and diforder.

Secondly, In Divifion, we muft take care to follow the order of nature; beginning with the fimpleft points, fuch as are eafieft apprehended, and neceffary to be firft difcuffed; and proceeding thence to thofe which are built upon the former, and which fuppofe them to be known. We muft divide the fubject into thofe parts, into which moft eafily and naturally it is refolved; that the fubject may feem to fplit itfelf, and not to be violently torn afunder: "Dividere," as is commonly faid, "non frangere."

Thirdly, The feveral members of a Divifion ought to exhauft the fubject; otherwife we do not make a complete Divifion; we exhibit the fubject by pieces and corners only, without giving any fuch plan as difplays the whole.

Fourthly, The terms in which our partitions are expreffed, fhould be as concife as poffible. Avoid all circumlocution here. Admit not a fingle word but what is neceffary. Precifion is to be ftudied, above all things, in laying down a method. It is this which chiefly makes a Divifion appear neat and elegant; when the feveral heads are propounded in the

cleareft

clearest, most expressive, and, at the same time, the fewest words possible. This never fails to strike the hearers agreeably; and is, at the same time, of great consequence towards making the Divisions be more easily remembered.

Fifthly, Avoid an unnecessary multiplication of heads. To split a subject into a great many minute parts, by Divisions and Subdivisions without end, has always a bad effect in speaking. It may be proper in a logical treatise; but it makes an Oration appear hard and dry, and unnecessarily fatigues the memory. In a Sermon, there may be from three to five, or six heads, including Subdivisions; seldom should there be more.

In a Sermon, or in a Pleading at the Bar, few things are of greater consequence, than a proper and happy Division. It should be studied with much accuracy and care; for if one take a wrong method at first setting out, it will lead him astray in all that follows. It will render the whole Discourse either perplexed or languid; and though the hearers may not be able to tell where the fault or disorder lies, they will be sensible there is a disorder somewhere, and find themselves little affected by what is spoken. The French writers of Sermons study neatness and elegance in laying down their heads, much more than the English do; whose distributions, though sensible and just, yet are often inartificial and verbose. Among the French, however, too much quaintness appears in their Divisions, with an affectation of always setting out either with two, or with three, general heads of Discourse. A Division of Massillon's on this text, "It is finished," has been much ex-

tolled

LECT. XXXI. tolled by the French Critics: " This imports," ſays the Preacher, " the conſummation, firſt, of juſtice on the part " of God; ſecondly, of wickedneſs on the part of men; " thirdly, of love on the part of Chriſt." This alſo of Bourdaloue's has been much praiſed, from theſe words," " My " peace I give unto you." " Peace," ſays he, " firſt, to the " underſtanding, by ſubmiſſion to faith; ſecondly, to the " heart, by ſubmiſſion to the law."

THE next conſtituent part of a Diſcourſe, which I mentioned, was Narration or Explication. I put theſe two together, both becauſe they fall nearly under the ſame rules, and becauſe they commonly anſwer the ſame purpoſe; ſerving to illuſtrate the cauſe, or the ſubject of which one treats, before proceeding to argue either on one ſide or other; or to make any attempt for intereſting the paſſions of the hearers.

IN Pleadings at the Bar, Narration is often a very important part of the Diſcourſe, and requires to be particularly attended to. Beſides, its being in any caſe no eaſy matter to relate with grace and propriety, there is, in Narrations at the Bar, a peculiar difficulty. The Pleader muſt ſay nothing but what is true; and, at the ſame time, he muſt avoid ſaying any thing that will hurt his cauſe. The facts which he relates, are to be the ground-work of all his future reaſoning. To recount them ſo as to keep ſtrictly within the bounds of truth, and yet to preſent them under the colours moſt favourable to his cauſe; to place, in the moſt ſtriking light, every circumſtance which is to his advantage, and to ſoften and weaken ſuch as make againſt him, demands no ſmall exertion of ſkill and dexterity. He

muſt always remember, that if he diſcovers too much art, he defeats his own purpoſe, and creates a diſtruſt of his ſincerity. Quinctilian very properly directs, "Effugienda in hac præcipuè parte, omnis calliditatis ſuſpicio; neque enim ſe uſquam "magis cuſtodit judex, quàm cùm narrat orator; nihil tum "videatur fictum; nihil ſollicitum; omnia potius a cauſa, "quam ab oratore, profecta videantur *."

To be clear and diſtinct, to be probable, and to be conciſe, are the qualities which Critics chiefly require in Narration; each of which carries, ſufficiently, the evidence of its importance. Diſtinctneſs belongs to the whole train of the Diſcourſe, but is eſpecially requiſite in Narration, which ought to throw light on all that follows. A fact, or a ſingle circumſtance left in obſcurity, and miſapprehended by the Judge, may deſtroy the effect of all the argument and reaſoning which the Speaker employs. If his Narration be improbable, the Judge will not regard it; and if it be tedious and diffuſe, he will tire of it, and forget it. In order to produce diſtinctneſs, beſides the ſtudy of the general rules of perſpicuity which were formerly given, Narration requires particular attention to aſcertain clearly the names, the dates, the places, and every other material circumſtance of the facts recounted. In order to be probable in Narration, it is material to enter into the characters of the perſons of whom we ſpeak, and to ſhow, that their

* "In this part of Diſcourſe, the Speaker muſt be very careful to ſhun every "appearance of art and cunning. For there is no time at which the Judge "is more upon his guard, than when the Pleader is relating facts. Let no-"thing then ſeem feigned; nothing anxiouſly concealed. Let all that is ſaid, "appear to ariſe from the cauſe itſelf, and not to be the work of the Orator."

LECT. XXXI. actions proceeded from such motives as are natural, and likely to gain belief. In order to be as concise as the subject will admit, it is necessary to throw out all superfluous circumstances; the rejection of which, will likewise tend to make our Narration more forcible, and more clear.

Cicero is very remarkable for his talent of Narration; and from the examples in his Orations much may be learned. The Narration, for instance, in the celebrated Oration *pro Milone*, has been often and justly admired. His scope is to show, that though in fact Clodius was killed by Milo or his servants, yet that it was only in self-defence; and that the design had been laid, not by Milo against Clodius, but by Clodius against Milo's life. All the circumstances for rendering this probable are painted with wonderful art. In relating the manner of Milo's setting out from Rome, he gives the most natural description of a family excursion to the country, under which it was impossible that any bloody design could be concealed. "He remained," says he, "in the Senate-house that day, till "all the business was over. He came home, changed his "clothes deliberately, and waited for some time, till his wife "had got all her things ready for going with him in his carriage to the country. He did not set out, till such time as "Clodius might easily have been in Rome, if he had not been "lying in wait for Milo by the way. By and by, Clodius met "him on the road, on horseback, like a man prepared for "action, no carriage, nor his wife, as was usual, nor any family equipage along with him: whilst Milo, who is supposed "to be meditating slaughter and assassination, is travelling in a "carriage with his wife, wrapped up in his cloak, embarrassed

"with baggage, and attended by a great train of women servants, and boys." He goes on, describing the rencounter that followed, Clodius's servants attacking those of Milo, and killing the driver of his carriage; Milo jumping out, throwing off his cloak, and making the best defence he could, while Clodius's servants endeavoured to surround him; and then concludes his narration with a very delicate and happy stroke. He does not say in plain words, that Milo's servants killed Clodius, but that "in the midst of the tumult, Milo's servants, without the orders, without the knowledge, without the presence of their master, did what every master would have wished his servants, in a like conjuncture, to have done *."

LECT. XXXI.

* "Milo, cùm in Senatu fuisset eo die, quoad Senatus dimissus est, domum venit. Calceos et vestimenta mutavit; paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fit) comparat, commoratus est; deinde profectus est, id temporis cùm jam Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire potuisset. Obviam fit ei Clodius expeditus, in equo, nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus, ut solebat; sine uxore, quod nunquam fere. Cum hic insidiator, qui iter illud ad cædem faciendam apparâsset, cum uxore veheretur in rheda, penulatus, vulgi magno impedimento, ac muliebri et delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu. Fit obviam Clodio ante fundum ejus, hora fere undecima, aut non multo secus. Statim complures cum telis in hunc faciunt de loco superiore impetum: adversi rhedarium occidunt; cùm autem hic de rheda, rejecta penula desiluisset, seque acri animo defenderet, illi qui erant cum Clodio, gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergo Milonem adorirentur; partim, quod hunc jam interfectum putarent, cædere incipiunt ejus servos qui post erant; ex quibus qui animo fideli in dominum et præsenti fuerunt, partim occisi sunt; partim cum ad rhedam pugnare viderent, et domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonemque occisum etiam ex ipso Clodio audirent, et ita esse putarent, fecerunt id servi Milonis (dicam enim non derivandi criminis causâ, sed ut factum est) neque imperante, neque sciente, neque præsente domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere voluisset."

LECT. XXXI.

In Sermons, where there is ſeldom any occaſion for Narration, explication of the ſubject to be diſcourſed on, comes in the place of narration at the bar, and is to be taken up much on the ſame tone; that is, it muſt be conciſe, clear, and diſtinct; and in a Style correct and elegant, rather than highly adorned. To explain the doctrine of the text with propriety; to give a full and perſpicuous account of the nature of that virtue or duty which forms the ſubject of the Diſcourſe, is properly the didactic part of preaching; on the right execution of which much depends for all that comes afterward in the way of perſuaſion. The great art of ſucceeding in it, is, to meditate profoundly on the ſubject, ſo as to be able to place it in a clear and ſtrong point of view. Conſider what light other paſſages of Scripture throw upon it; conſider whether it be a ſubject nearly related to ſome other from which it is proper to diſtinguiſh it; conſider whether it can be illuſtrated to advantage by comparing it with, or oppoſing it to, ſome other thing; by enquiring into cauſes, or tracing effects; by pointing out examples, or appealing to the feelings of the hearers; that thus, a definite, preciſe, circumſtantial view may be afforded of the doctrine to be inculcated. Let the Preacher be perſuaded, that by ſuch diſtinct and apt illuſtrations of the known truths of Religion, he may both diſplay great merit in the way of Compoſition, and, what he ought to conſider as far more valuable, render his Diſcourſes weighty, inſtructive, and uſeful.

LECTURE XXXII.

CONDUCT OF A DISCOURSE—THE ARGUMENTATIVE PART—THE PATHETIC PART—THE PERORATION.

IN treating of the conſtituent parts of a regular Diſcourſe or Oration, I have already conſidered the Introduction, the Diviſion, and the Narration or Explication. I proceed next to treat of the argumentative or reaſoning Part of a Diſcourſe. In whatever place, or on whatever ſubject one ſpeaks, this beyond doubt is of the greateſt conſequence. For the great end for which men ſpeak on any ſerious occaſion, is to convince their hearers of ſomething being either true, or right, or good; and, by means of this conviction, to influence their practice. Reaſon and Argument make the foundation, as I have often inculcated, of all manly and perſuaſive Eloquence.

Now, with reſpect to Arguments, three things are requiſite. Firſt, the invention of them; ſecondly, the proper diſpoſition

LECT. XXXII. and arrangement of them; and thirdly, the expressing of them in such a style and manner, as to give them their full force.

The first of these, Invention, is, without doubt, the most material, and the ground-work of the rest. But, with respect to this, I am afraid it is beyond the power of art to give any real assistance. Art cannot go so far, as to supply a Speaker with arguments on every cause, and every subject; though it may be of considerable use in assisting him to arrange, and express those, which his knowledge of the subject has discovered. For it is one thing to discover the reasons that are most proper to convince men, and another, to manage those reasons with most advantage. The latter is all that Rhetoric can pretend to.

The ancient Rhetoricians did indeed attempt to go much farther than this. They attempted to form Rhetoric into a more complete system; and professed not only to assist Public Speakers in setting off their arguments to most advantage; but to supply the defect of their invention, and to teach them where to find arguments on every subject and cause. Hence their Doctrine of Topics, or "Loci Communes," and "Sedes Argumentorum," which makes so great a figure in the writings of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quinctilian. These Topics or Loci, were no other than general ideas applicable to a great many different subjects, which the Orator was directed to consult, in order to find out materials for his Speech. They had their intrinsic and extrinsic Loci; some Loci, that were common to all the different kinds of Public Speaking, and some that were peculiar to each. The common or general Loci, were such as Genus and Species, Cause and Effect, Antecedents aud Consequents, Likeness

neſs and Contrariety, Definition, Circumſtances of Time and Place; and a great many more of the ſame kind. For each of the different kinds of Public Speaking, they had their "Loci "Perſonarum," and "Loci Rerum:" As in demonſtrative Orations, for inſtance, the heads from which any one could be decried or praiſed; his birth, his country, his education, his kindred, the qualities of his body, the qualities of his mind, the fortune he enjoyed, the ſtations he had filled, &c. and in Deliberative Orations, the Topics that might be uſed in recommending any public meaſure, or diſſuading from it; ſuch as, honeſty, juſtice, facility, profit, pleaſure, glory, aſſiſtance from friends, mortification to enemies, and the like.

THE Grecian Sophiſts were the firſt inventors of this artificial ſyſtem of Oratory; and they ſhowed a prodigious ſubtilty, and fertility in the contrivance of theſe Loci. Succeeding Rhetoricians, dazzled by the plan, wrought them up into ſo regular a ſyſtem, that one would think they meant to teach how a perſon might mechanically become an Orator, without any genius at all. They gave him receipts for making Speeches, on all manner of ſubjects. At the ſame time, it is evident, that though this ſtudy of common places might produce very ſhowy academical declamations, it could never produce uſeful diſcourſes on real buſineſs. The Loci indeed ſupplied a moſt exuberant fecundity of matter. One who had no other aim, but to talk copiouſly and plauſibly, by conſulting them on every ſubject, and laying hold of all that they ſuggeſted, might diſcourſe without end; and that too, though he had none but the moſt ſuperficial knowledge of his ſubject. But ſuch Diſcourſe, could be no other than trivial. What is truly ſolid and perſuaſive, muſt be

LECT. XXXII. drawn "ex visceribus causæ," from a thorough knowledge of the subject, and profound meditation on it. They who would direct students of Oratory to any other sources of Argumentation, only delude them; and by attempting to render Rhetoric too perfect an art, they render it, in truth, a trifling and childish study.

On this doctrine, therefore, of the Rhetorical Loci or Topics, I think it superfluous to insist. If any think that the knowledge of them may contribute to improve their invention, and extend their views, they may consult Aristotle and Quinctilian, or what Cicero has written on this head, in his Treatise De Inventione, his Topica, and Second Book *De Oratore.* But when they are to prepare a Discourse, by which they purpose to convince a Judge, or to produce any considerable effect upon an Assembly, I would advise them to lay aside their common places, and to think closely of their subject. Demosthenes, I dare say, consulted none of the Loci, when he was inciting the Athenians to take arms against Philip; and where Cicero has had recourse to them, his Orations are so much the worse on that account.

I PROCEED to what is of more real use, to point out the assistance that can be given, not with respect to the invention, but with respect to the disposition, and conduct of Arguments.

Two different methods may be used by Orators in the conduct of their reasoning; the terms of art for which are, the Analytic, and the Synthetic method. The Analytic is, when the Orator conceals his intention concerning the point he is to prove, till

till he has gradually brought his hearers to the designed conclusion. They are led on step by step, from one known truth to another, till the conclusion be stolen upon them, as the natural consequence of a chain of propositions. As, for instance, when one intending to prove the being of a God, sets out with observing that every thing which we see in the world has had a beginning; that whatever has had a beginning, must have had a prior cause; that in human productions, art shown in the effect necessarily infers design in the cause; and proceeds leading you on from one cause to another, till you arrive at one supreme first cause, from whom is derived all the order and design visible in his works. This is much the same with the Socratic method, by which that Philosopher silenced the Sophists of his age. It is a very artful method of reasoning; may be carried on with much beauty, and is proper to be used when the hearers are much prejudiced against any truth, and by imperceptible steps must be led to conviction.

But there are few subjects that will admit this method, and not many occasions on which it is proper to be employed. The mode of reasoning most generally used, and most suited to the train of Popular Speaking, is what is called the Synthetic; when the point to be proved is fairly laid down, and one Argument after another is made to bear upon it, till the hearers be fully convinced.

Now, in all arguing, one of the first things to be attended to is, among the various Arguments which may occur upon a cause, to make a proper selection of such as appear to one's self the most solid; and to employ these as the chief means of persuasion.

LECT. XXXII. ſuaſion. Every Speaker ſhould place himſelf in the ſituation of a hearer, and think how he would be affected by thoſe reaſons, which he purpoſes to employ for perſuading others. For he muſt not expect to impoſe on mankind by mere arts of Speech. They are not ſo eaſily impoſed on, as Public Speakers are ſometimes apt to think. Shrewdneſs and ſagacity are found among all ranks; and the Speaker may be praiſed for his fine Diſcourſe, while yet the hearers are not perſuaded of the truth of any one thing he has uttered.

Supposing the Arguments properly choſen, it is evident that their effect will, in ſome meaſure, depend on the right arrangement of them; ſo as they ſhall not juſtle and embarraſs one another, but give mutual aid; and bear with the faireſt and fulleſt direction on the point in view. Concerning this, the following rules may be taken:

In the firſt place, avoid blending Arguments confuſedly together, that are of a ſeparate nature. All Arguments whatever are directed to prove one or other of theſe three things; that ſomething is true; that it is morally right or fit; or that it is profitable and good. Theſe make the three great ſubjects of diſcuſſion among mankind; Truth, Duty, and Intereſt. But the Arguments directed towards either of them are generically diſtinct; and he who blends them all under one Topic, which he calls his Argument, as, in Sermons, eſpecially, is too often done, will render his reaſoning indiſtinct, and inelegant. Suppoſe, for inſtance, that I am recommending to an Audience Benevolence, or the Love of our Neighbour; and that I take my firſt Argument, from the inward ſatisfaction which a benevolent

volent temper affords; my second, from the obligation which the example of Christ lays upon us to this duty; and my third, from its tendency to procure us the good-will of all around us; my Arguments are good, but I have arranged them wrong: for my first and third Arguments are taken from considerations of interest, internal peace, and external advantages; and between these, I have introduced one, which rests wholly upon duty. I should have kept those classes of Arguments, which are addressed to different principles in human nature, separate and distinct.

In the second place, With regard to the different degrees of strength in Arguments, the general rule is, to advance in the way of climax, "ut augeatur semper, et increscat oratio." This especially is to be the course, when the Speaker has a clear cause, and is confident that he can prove it fully. He may then adventure to begin with feebler arguments; rising gradually, and not putting forth his whole strength till the last, when he can trust to his making a successful impression on the minds of hearers, prepared by what has gone before. But this rule is not to be always followed. For, if he distrusts his cause, and has but one material Argument on which to lay the stress, putting less confidence in the rest, in this case, it is often proper for him to place this material Argument in the front; to preoccupy the hearers early, and make the strongest effort at first; that, having removed prejudices, and disposed them to be favourable, the rest of his reasoning may be listened to with more docility. When it happens, that amidst a variety of Arguments, there are one or two which we are sensible are more inconclusive than the rest, and yet proper to be used, Cicero advises to place

LECT. XXXII. these in the middle, as a station less conspicuous than either the beginning, or the end, of the train of reasoning.

In the third place, When our Arguments are strong and satisfactory, the more they are distinguished and treated apart from each other, the better. Each can then bear to be brought out by itself, placed in its full light, amplified and rested upon. But when our Arguments are doubtful, and only of the presumptive kind, it is safer to throw them together in a crowd, and to run them into one another: "ut quæ sunt natura imbecilla," as Quinctilian speaks, "mutuo auxilio sustineantur;" that though infirm of themselves, they may serve mutually to prop each other. He gives a good example, in the case of one who was accused of murdering a relation, to whom he was heir. Direct proof was wanting; but, "you expected a succession, "and a great succession; you was in distrest circumstances; you "was pushed to the utmost by your creditors; you had offended "your relation, who had made you his heir; you knew that "he was just then intending to alter his will; no time was to "be lost. Each of these particulars, by itself," says the Author, "is inconclusive; but when they were assembled in one "groupe, they have effect."

Of the distinct Amplification of one persuasive Argument, we have a most beautiful example, in Cicero's Oration for Milo. The Argument is taken, from a circumstance of time. Milo was candidate for the Consulship; and Clodius was killed a few days before the election. He asks, if any one could believe that Milo would be mad enough, at such a critical time, by a most odious

assassination, to alienate from himself the favour of the people, whose suffrages he was so anxiously courting? This Argument, the moment it is suggested, appears to have considerable weight. But it was not enough, simply to suggest it; it could bear to be dwelt upon, and brought out into full light. The Orator, therefore, draws a just and striking picture of that solicitous attention with which candidates, at such a season, always found it necessary to cultivate the good opinion of the people. "Quo "tempore," says he, "(Scio enim quam timida sit ambitio, "quantaque et quam sollicita, cupiditas consulatûs) omnia, non "modo quæ reprehendi palam, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari "possunt, timemus. Rumorem, fabulam fictam et falsam, per"horrescimus; ora omnium atque oculos intuemur. Nihil "enim est tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quam vo"luntas erga nos sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati "irascuntur candidatorum, sed etiam in recte factis sæpe fasti"diunt." From all which he most justly concludes, "Hunc "diem igitur Campi, speratum atque exoptatum, sibi proponens "Milo, cruentis manibus, scelus atque facinus præ se ferens, ad "illa centuriarum auspicia veniebat? Quam hoc in illo mini"mum credibile! *" But though such amplification as this be extremely beautiful, I must add a caution,

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* Well do I know to what length the timidity goes of such as are candidates "for public offices, and how many anxious cares and attentions, a canvass for "the Consulship necessarily carries along with it. On such an occasion, we "are afraid not only of what we may openly be reproached with, but of what "others may think of us in secret. The slightest rumour, the most improba"ble tale that can be devised to our prejudice, alarms and disconcerts us. "We study the countenance, and the looks, of all around us. For nothing is "so delicate, so frail, and uncertain, as the public favour. Our fellow citi"zens not only are justly offended with the vices of candidates, but even on oc" "casion

LECT. XXXII.

In the fourth place, against extending Arguments too far, and multiplying them too much. This ſerves rather to render a cauſe ſuſpected, than to give it weight. An unneceſſary multiplicity of Arguments, both burdens the memory, and detracts from the weight of that conviction, which a few well choſen Arguments carry. It is to be obſerved too, that in the Amplification of Arguments, a diffuſe and ſpreading method, beyond the bounds of reaſonable illuſtration, is always enfeebling. It takes off greatly from that "vis et acumen," which ſhould be the diſtinguiſhing character of the Argumentative Part of a Diſcourſe. When a Speaker dwells long on a favourite Argument, and ſeeks to turn it into every poſſible light, it almoſt always happens, that, fatigued with the effort, he loſes the ſpirit with which he ſet out; and concludes with feebleneſs, what he began with force. There is a proper temperance in reaſoning, as there is in other parts of a Diſcourſe.

After due attention given to the proper arrangement of Arguments, what is next requiſite for their ſucceſs, is to expreſs them in ſuch a ſtyle, and to deliver them in ſuch a manner, as ſhall give them full force. On theſe heads I muſt refer the Reader to the directions I have given in treating of Style, in former Lectures; and to the directions I am afterwards to give concerning Pronunciation and Delivery.

"caſion of meritorious actions, are apt to conceive capricious diſguſts. Is "there then the leaſt credibility, that Milo, after having ſo long fixed his at- "tention on the important and wiſhed for day of election, would dare to have "any thoughts of preſenting himſelf before the auguſt Aſſembly of the People, "as a murderer and aſſaſſin, with his hands embrued in blood?"

I Proceed,

I PROCEED, therefore, next, to another eſſential part of Diſcourſe which I mentioned as the fifth in order, that is, the Pathetic; in which, if any where, Eloquence reigns, and exerts its power. I ſhall not, in beginning this head, take up time in combating the ſcruples of thoſe who have moved a queſtion, whether it be conſiſtent with fairneſs and candor in a Public Speaker, to addreſs the paſſions of his Audience? This is a queſtion about words alone, and which common ſenſe eaſily determines. In enquiries after mere truth, in matters of ſimple information and inſtruction, there is no queſtion that the paſſions have no concern, and that all attempts to move them are abſurd. Wherever conviction is the object, it is the underſtanding alone that is to be applied to. It is by argument and reaſoning, that one man attempts to ſatisfy another of what is true, or right, or juſt; but if perſuaſion be the object, the caſe is changed. In all that relates to practice, there is no man who ſeriouſly means to perſuade another, but addreſſes himſelf to his paſſions more or leſs; for this plain reaſon, that paſſions are the great ſprings of human action. The moſt virtuous man, in treating of the moſt virtuous ſubject, ſeeks to touch the heart of him to whom he ſpeaks; and makes no ſcruple to raiſe his indignation at injuſtice, or his pity to the diſtreſſed, though pity and indignation be paſſions.

IN treating of this part of Eloquence, the ancients made the ſame ſort of attempt as they employed with reſpect to the argumentative part, in order to bring Rhetoric into a more perfect ſyſtem. They enquired metaphyſically into the nature of every paſſion; they gave a definition, and a deſcription of it; they treated of its cauſes, its effects, and its concomitants; and thence

LECT. XXXII. deduced rules for working upon it. Ariſtotle in particular has, in his Treatiſe upon Rhetoric, diſcuſſed the nature of the paſſions with much profoundneſs and ſubtilty; and what he has written on that head, may be read with no ſmall profit, as a valuable piece of Moral Philoſophy; but whether it will have any effect in rendering an Orator more pathetic, is to me doubtful. It is not, I am afraid, any philoſophical knowledge of the paſſions, that can confer this talent. We muſt be indebted for it to Nature, to a certain ſtrong and happy ſenſibility of mind; and one may be a moſt thorough adept in all the ſpeculative knowledge that can be acquired concerning the paſſions, and remain at the ſame time a cold and dry Speaker. The uſe of rules and inſtructions on this, or any other part of Oratory, is not to ſupply the want of genius, but to direct it where it is found, into its proper channel; to aſſiſt it in exerting itſelf with moſt advantage, and to prevent the errors and extravagancies into which it is ſometimes apt to run. On the head of the Pathetic, the following directions appear to me to be uſeful.

The firſt is to conſider carefully, whether the ſubject admit the Pathetic, and render it proper; and if it does, what part of the Diſcourſe is the moſt proper for attempting it. To determine theſe points belongs to good ſenſe; for it is evident, that there are many ſubjects which admit not the Pathetic at all, and that even in thoſe that are ſuſceptible of it, an attempt to excite the paſſions in the wrong place, may expoſe an Orator to ridicule. All that can be ſaid in general is, that if we expect any emotion which we raiſe to have a laſting effect, we muſt be careful to bring over to our ſide, in the firſt place, the underſtanding and judgment. The hearers muſt be convinced that

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there are good and ſufficient grounds, for their entering with warmth into the cauſe. They muſt be able to juſtify to themſelves the paſſion which they feel; and remain ſatisfied that they are not carried away by mere deluſion. Unleſs their minds be brought into this ſtate, although they may have been heated by the Orator's diſcourſe, yet, as ſoon as he ceaſes to ſpeak, they will reſume their ordinary tone of thought; and the emotion which he has raiſed will die entirely away. Hence moſt writers aſſign the Pathetic to the Peroration or Concluſion, as its natural place; and, no doubt, all other things being equal, this is the impreſſion that one would chuſe to make laſt, leaving the minds of the hearers warmed with the ſubject, after argument and reaſoning had produced their full effect: but wherever it is introduced, I muſt adviſe,

In the ſecond place, never to ſet apart a head of diſcourſe in form, for raiſing any paſſion; never give warning that you are about to be pathetic; and call upon your hearers, as is ſometimes done, to follow you in the attempt. This almoſt never fails to prove a refrigerant to paſſion. It puts the hearers immediately on their guard, and diſpoſes them for criticizing, much more than for being moved. The indirect method of making an impreſſion is likely to be more ſucceſsful; when you ſeize the critical moment that is favourable to emotion, in whatever part of the diſcourſe it occurs; and then, after due preparation, throw in ſuch circumſtances, and preſent ſuch glowing images, as may kindle their paſſions before they are aware. This can often be done more happily, in a few ſentences inſpired by natural warmth, than in a long and ſtudied Addreſs.

LECT. XXXII.

In the third place, It is neceſſary to obſerve, that there is a great difference between ſhowing the hearers that they ought to be moved, and actually moving them. This diſtinction is not ſufficiently attended to, eſpecially by Preachers, who, if they have a head in their Sermon to ſhow how much we are bound to be grateful to God, or to be compaſſionate to the diſtreſt, are apt to imagine this to be a pathetic part. Now, all the Arguments you produce to ſhow me, why it is my duty, why it is reaſonable and fit, that I ſhould be moved in a certain way, go no further than to diſpoſe or prepare me for entering into ſuch an emotion; but they do not actually excite it. To every emotion or paſſion, Nature has adapted a ſet of correſponding objects; and, without ſetting theſe before the mind, it is not in the power of any Orator to raiſe that emotion. I am warmed with gratitude, I am touched with compaſſion, not when a Speaker ſhows me that theſe are noble diſpoſitions, and that it is my duty to feel them; or when he exclaims againſt me for my indifference and coldneſs. All this time, he is ſpeaking only to my reaſon or conſcience. He muſt deſcribe the kindneſs and tenderneſs of my friend; he muſt ſet before me the diſtreſs ſuffered by the perſon for whom he would intereſt me; then, and not till then, my heart begins to be touched, my gratitude or my compaſſion begin to flow. The foundation, therefore, of all ſucceſsful execution in the way of Pathetic Oratory is, to paint the object of that paſſion which we wiſh to raiſe, in the moſt natural and ſtriking manner; to deſcribe it with ſuch circumſtances as are likely to awaken it in the minds of others. Every paſſion is moſt ſtrongly excited by ſenſation; as anger, by the feeling of an injury, or the preſence of the injurer. Next to the influence of Senſe, is that of Memory; and next to Memory,

mory is, the influence of the Imagination. Of this power, therefore, the Orator must avail himself, so as to strike the imagination of the hearers with circumstances which, in lustre and steadiness, resemble those of Sensation and Remembrance. In order to accomplish this,

In the fourth place, the only effectual method is, to be moved yourselves. There are a thousand interesting circumstances suggested by real passion, which no art can imitate, and no refinement can supply. There is obviously a contagion among the passions.

> Ut ridentibus arrident, sic flentibus adflent,
> Humani vultus.

The internal emotion of the Speaker adds a pathos to his words, his looks, his gestures, and his whole manner, which exerts a power almost irresistible over those who hear him *. But on this point, though the most material of all, I shall not now insist, as I have often had occasion before to show, that all attempts towards becoming Pathetic, when we are not moved ourselves, expose us to certain ridicule.

Quinctilian, who discourses upon this subject with much good sense, takes pains to inform us of the method which he

* "Quid enim aliud est causæ ut lugentes, in recenti dolore, disertissime "quædam exclamare videantur; et ira nonunquam in indoctis quoque elo-"quentiam faciat; quàm quod illis inest vis mentis, et veritas ipsa Morum? "quare in iis quæ verisimilia esse volumus, simus ipsi similes eorum qui vere "patiuntur, affectibus; et a tali animo proficiscatur oratio qualem facere judi-"cem volet.—Afficiamur antequam afficere conemur."

Quinct. Lib. 6.

used,

LECT. XXXII. used, when he was a Public Speaker, for entering into those passions which he wanted to excite in others; setting before his own imagination what he calls, "Phantasiæ" or "Visiones," strong pictures of the distress or indignities which they had suffered, whose cause he was to plead, and for whom he was to interest his hearers; dwelling upon these, and putting himself in their situation, till he was affected by a passion similar to that which the persons themselves had felt *. To this method he attributes all the success he ever had in Public Speaking; and there can be no doubt, that whatever tends to increase an Orator's sensibility, will add greatly to his Pathetic Powers.

In the fifth place, It is necessary to attend to the proper language of the passions. We should observe in what manner any one expresses himself who is under the power of a real and a strong passion; and we shall always find his Language unaffected and simple. It may be animated, indeed, with bold and strong figures, but it will have no ornament or finery. He is not at leisure to follow out the play of Imagination. His mind being wholly seized by one object which has heated it, he has no other aim, but to represent that, in all its circumstances, as strongly as he feels it. This must be the Style of the Orator,

* "Ut hominem occisum querar; non omnia quæ in re presenti accidisse "credibile est, in occulis habebo? Non percussor ille subitus erumpet? non "exparescet circumventus? exclamabit, vel rogabit, vel fugiet? non ferientem, non concidentem videbo? non animo sanguis, et pallor, et gemitus, "extremus denique expirantis hiatus, insidet?—Ubi vero miseratione opus "erit, nobis ea de quibus querimur accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro "persuadeamus. Nos illi simus, quos gravia, indigna, tristia, passos queramur. Nec agamus rem quasi alienam; sed assumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus, quæ in simili nostro casu dicturi essemus." Lib. 6.

when

when he would be pathetic; and this will be his Style, if he ſpeaks from real feeling; bold, ardent, ſimple. No ſort of deſcription will then ſucceed, but what is written "fervente "calamo." If he ſtay till he can work up his Style, and poliſh and adorn it, he will infallibly cool his own ardor; and then he will touch the heart no more. His compoſition will become frigid; it will be the Language of one who deſcribes, but who does not feel. We muſt take notice, that there is a great difference between painting to the imagination, and painting to the heart. The one may be done coolly, and at leiſure: the other, muſt always be rapid and ardent. In the former, art and labour may be ſuffered to appear; in the latter, no effect can follow, unleſs it ſeem to be the work of nature only.

In the ſixth place, Avoid interweaving any thing of a foreign nature with the pathetic part of a Diſcourſe. Beware of all digreſſions, which may interrupt or turn aſide the natural courſe of the paſſion, when once it begins to riſe and ſwell. Sacrifice all beauties, however bright and ſhowy, which would divert the mind from the principal object, and which would amuſe the imagination, rather than touch the heart. Hence compariſons are always dangerous, and generally quite improper, in the midſt of paſſion. Beware even of reaſoning unſeaſonably; or, at leaſt, of carrying on a long and ſubtile train of reaſoning, on occaſions when the principal aim is to excite warm emotions.

In the laſt place, Never attempt prolonging the Pathetic too much. Warm emotions are too violent to be laſt-

 ing.

LECT. XXXII.

ing*. Study the proper time of making a retreat; of making a transition from the passionate to the calm tone; in such a manner, however, as to descend without falling, by keeping up the same strain of Sentiment that was carried on before, though now expressing it with more moderation. Above all things, beware of straining passion too far; of attempting to raise it to unnatural heights. Preserve always a due regard to what the hearers will bear; and remember, that he who stops not at the proper point; who attempts to carry them farther, in passion, than they will follow him, destroys his whole design. By endeavouring to warm them too much, he takes the most effectual method of freezing them completely.

Having given these rules concerning the Pathetic, I shall give one example from Cicero, which will serve to illustrate several of them, particularly the last. It shall be taken from his last Oration against Verres, wherein he describes the cruelty exercised by Verres, when Governor of Sicily, against one Gavius, a Roman citizen. This Gavius had made his escape from prison, into which he had been thrown by the Governor; and when just embarking at Messina, thinking himself now safe, had uttered some threats, that when he had once arrived at Rome, Verres should hear of him, and be brought to account for having put a Roman citizen in chains. The Chief Magistrate of Messina, a creature of Verres's, instantly apprehends him,

* "Nunquam debet esse longa miseratio; nam cùm veros dolores mitiget "tempus, citius evanescat, necesse est illa, quam dicendo effinximus, imago: "in qua, si moramur, lacrymis fatigatur auditor, et requiescit, et ab illo "quem ceperat impetu, in rationem redit. Non patiamur igitur frigescere "hoc opus; et affectum, cum ad summum perduxerimus, relinquamus; nec "speremus fore, ut aliena mala quisquam diu ploret." Quinct. L. 6.

him, and gives information of his threatnings. The behaviour of Verres, on this occasion, is described in the most picturesque manner, and with all the colours which were proper, in order to excite against him the public indignation. He thanks the Magistrate of Messina for his diligence. Filled with rage, he comes into the Forum; orders Gavius to be brought forth, the executioners to attend, and against the laws, and contrary to the well-known privileges of a Roman citizen, commands him to be stripped naked, bound, and scourged publicly in a cruel manner. Cicero then proceeds thus; "Cædebatur virgis, "in medio foro Messanæ, civis Romanus, Judices!" every word rises above another in describing this flagrant enormity; and, "Judices," is brought out at the end with the greatest propriety: "Cædebatur virgis, in medio foro Messanæ, civis "Romanus, Judices! cum interea, nullus gemitus, nulla vox "alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audie-"batur, nisi hæc, Civis Romanus sum. Hâc se commemora-"tione civitatis, omnia verbera depulsurum a corpore arbitra-"batur. Is non modo hoc non perfecit, ut virgarum vim depre-"caretur, sed cum imploraret sæpius usurparetque nomen "civis, crux, crux inquam, infelici isto & ærumnoso, qui "nunquam istam potestatem viderat, comparabatur. O nomen "dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O Lex "Porcia, legesque Semproniæ!—Huccine omnia tandem reci-"derunt, ut civis Romanus, in provincia populi Romani, in op-"pido fœderatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi Romani fasces et "secures haberet, deligatus, in foro, virgis cæderetur*?"

NOTHING

* "In the midst of the market-place of Messana, a Roman Citizen, O "Judges! was cruelly scourged with rods; when, in the mean time, amidst "the

LECT. XXXII.

Nothing can be finer, nor better conducted than this passage. The circumstances are well chosen for exciting both the compassion of his hearers for Gavius, and their indignation against Verres. The style is simple; and the passionate Exclamation, the Address to Liberty and the Laws, is well-timed, and in the proper Style of Passion. The Orator goes on to exaggerate Verres's cruelty still farther, by another very striking circumstance. He ordered a gibbet to be erected for Gavius, not in the common place of execution, but just by the sea-shore, over against the coast of Italy. "Let him," said he, "who boasts so much of his being a Roman citizen, take a "view from his gibbet of his own country.—This base "insult over a dying man is the least part of his guilt. It was "not Gavius alone that Verres meant to insult; but it was you, "O Romans! it was every citizen who now hears me; in the

"the noise of the blows which he suffered, no voice, no complaint of this "unhappy man was heard, except this exclamation, Remember that I am a "Roman citizen! By pleading this privilege of his birthright, he hoped to "have stopped the strokes of the executioner. But his hopes were vain; for, "so far was he from being able to obtain thereby any mitigation of his tor-"ture, that when he continued to repeat this exclamation, and to plead the "rights of a citizen, a cross, a cross, I say, was preparing to be set up for "the execution of this unfortunate person, who never before had beheld that "instrument of cruel death. O sacred and honoured name of Liberty! O "boasted and revered privilege of a Roman Citizen! O ye Porcian "and Sempronian Laws! to this issue have ye all come, that a Ci-"tizen of Rome, in a province of the Roman Empire, within an "allied city, should publicly, in a market place, be loaded with chains, "and beaten with rods, at the command of one who, from the favour "of the Roman people alone, derived all his authority and ensigns of "power!"

" person of Gavius, he ſcoffed at your rights, and ſhowed in " what contempt he held the Roman name, and Roman " liberties."

HITHERTO all is beautiful, animated, pathetic; and the model would have been perfect, if Cicero had ſtopped at this point. But his redundant and florid genius carried him further. He muſt needs intereſt, not his hearers only, but the beaſts, the mountains, and the ſtones, againſt Verres: " Si hæc non ad cives Romanos, non ad amicos noſtræ civi-" tatis, non ad eos qui populi Romani nomen audiſſent; deni-" que ſi non ad homines, verum ad beſtias; atque ut longius " progrediar, ſi in aliqua deſertiſſima ſolitudine, ad ſaxa et ad " ſcopulos, hæc conqueri et deplorare vellem, tamen omnia " muta atque inanima, tantâ et tam indignâ rerum atrocitate " commoverentur *." This, with all the deference due to ſo eloquent an Orator, we muſt pronounce to be Declamatory, not Pathetic. This is ſtraining the Language of Paſſion too far. Every hearer ſees this immediately to be a ſtudied figure of Rhetoric; it may amuſe him, but inſtead of inflaming him more, it, in truth, cools his paſſion. So dangerous it is to give

" * Were I employed in lamenting thoſe inſtances of an atrocious oppreſſion and " cruelty, not among an aſſembly of Roman citizens, not among the allies of " our ſtate, not among thoſe who had ever heard the name of the Roman people, " not even among human creatures, but in the midſt of the brute creation; " and to go farther, were I pouring forth my lamentations to the ſtones, and " to the rocks, in ſome remote and deſert wilderneſs, even thoſe mute and " inanimate beings would, at the recital of ſuch ſhocking indignities, be thrown " into commotion."

LECT. XXXII. ſcope to a flowery imagination, when one intends to make a ſtrong and paſſionate impreſſion.

No other part of Diſcourſe remains now to be treated of, except the Peroration, or Concluſion. Concerning this, it is needleſs to ſay much, becauſe it muſt vary ſo conſiderably, according to the ſtrain of the preceding Diſcourſe. Sometimes, the whole pathetic part comes in moſt properly at the Peroration. Sometimes, when the Diſcourſe has been entirely argumentative, it is fit to conclude with ſumming up the Arguments, placing them in one view, and leaving the impreſſion of them, full and ſtrong, on the mind of the Audience. For the great rule of a Concluſion, and what nature obviouſly ſuggeſts, is, to place that laſt on which we chooſe that the ſtrength of our cauſe ſhould reſt.

In Sermons, inferences from what has been ſaid, make a common Concluſion. With regard to theſe, care ſhould be taken, not only that they riſe naturally, but (what is leſs commonly attended to), that they ſhould ſo much agree with the ſtrain of ſentiment throughout the Diſcourſe, as not to break the Unity of the Sermon. For inferences, how juſtly ſoever they may be deduced from the doctrine of the Text, yet have a bad effect, if, at the Concluſion of a Diſcourſe, they introduce ſome ſubject altogether new, and turn off our attention from the main object to which the Preacher had directed our thoughts. They appear, in this caſe, like excreſcences jutting out from the body, which had better have been wanted; and tend to enfeeble the impreſſion, which the Compoſition, as a whole, is calculated to make.

THE moſt eloquent of the French, perhaps, indeed, of all modern Orators, Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, terminates in a very moving manner, his funeral Oration on the great Prince of Condé, with this return upon himſelf, and his old age: "Accept, O Prince! theſe laſt efforts of a voice which you "once well knew. With you, all my funeral Diſcourſes are "now to end. Inſtead of deploring the death of others, "henceforth, it ſhall be my ſtudy to learn from you, how "my own may be bleſſed. Happy, if warned by thoſe "grey hairs, of the account which I muſt ſoon give of my "miniſtry, I reſerve, ſolely, for that flock whom I ought to "feed with the word of life, the feeble remains of a voice "which now trembles, and of an ardor, which is now on the "point of being extinct *."

IN all Diſcourſes, it is a matter of importance to hit the preciſe time of concluding, ſo as to bring our Diſcourſe juſt to a point; neither ending abruptly and unexpectedly; nor diſappointing the expectation of the hearers, when they look for our being done; and continuing to hover round and

* "Agreéz ces derniers efforts d'une voix que vous fut connue. Vous "mettrez fin à tous ces diſcours. Au lieu de déplorer la mort des autres, "Grand Prince! dorenavant je veux apprendre de vous, à rendre la mienne "ſainte. Heureux, ſi averti par ces chevaux blancs du compte que je dois "rendre de mon adminiſtration, je reſerve au troupeau que je dois nourrir de "la parole de vie, les reſtes d'une voix qui tombe, & d'une ardeur qui "s'éteint."—Theſe are the laſt ſentences of that Oration: but the whole of the Peroration from that paſſage, "Venez, peuples, venez maintenant," &c. though it is too long for inſertion, is a great maſter-piece of Pathetic Eloquence.

LECT. XXXII.

round the Conclusion, till they become heartily tired of us. We should endeavour to go off with a good grace; not to end with a languishing and drawling Sentence; but to close with dignity and spirit, that we may leave the minds of the hearers warm; and dismiss them with a favourable impression of the Subject, and of the Speaker.

LECTURE XXXIII.

PRONUNCIATION, OR DELIVERY.

HAVING treated of ſeveral general heads relating to Eloquence, or Public Speaking, I now proceed to another very important part of the ſubject yet remaining, that is, the Pronunciation, or Delivery of a Diſcourſe. How much ſtreſs was laid upon this by the moſt eloquent of all Orators, Demoſthenes, appears from a noted ſaying of his, related both by Cicero and Quinctilian; when being aſked, What was the firſt point in Oratory? he anſwered, Delivery; and being aſked, What was the ſecond? and afterwards, What was the third? he ſtill anſwered, Delivery. There is no wonder, that he ſhould have rated this ſo high, and that for improving himſelf in it, he ſhould have employed thoſe aſſiduous and painful labours, which all the antients take ſo much notice of; for, beyond doubt, nothing is of more importance. To ſuperficial thinkers, the management of the voice and geſture, in Public Speaking, may appear to relate to Decoration only, and to be

one of the inferior arts of catching an Audience. But this is far from being the caſe. It is intimately connected with what is, or ought to be, the end of all Public Speaking, Perſuaſion; and therefore deſerves the ſtudy of the moſt grave and ſerious Speakers, as much as of thoſe, whoſe only aim it is to pleaſe.

For, let it be conſidered, whenever we addreſs ourſelves to others by words, our intention certainly is to make ſome impreſſion on thoſe to whom we ſpeak; it is to convey to them our own ideas and emotions. Now the tone of our voice, our looks, and geſtures, interpret our ideas and emotions no leſs than words do; nay, the impreſſion they make on others, is frequently much ſtronger than any that words can make. We often ſee that an expreſſive look, or a paſſionate cry, unaccompanied by words, convey to others more forcible ideas, and rouſe within them ſtronger paſſions, than can be communicated by the moſt eloquent Diſcourſe. The ſignification of our ſentiments, made by tones and geſtures, has this advantage above that made by words, that it is the Language of nature. It is that method of interpreting our mind, which nature has dictated to all, and which is underſtood by all; whereas, words are only arbitrary, conventional ſymbols of our ideas; and, by conſequence, muſt make a more feeble impreſſion. So true is this, that, to render words fully ſignificant, they muſt, almoſt in every caſe, receive ſome aid from the manner of Pronunciation and Delivery; and he who, in ſpeaking, ſhould employ bare words, without enforcing them by proper tones and accents, would leave us with a faint and indiſtinct impreſſion, often with a doubtful and ambiguous conception, of what he had delivered. Nay, ſo cloſe is the connection between certain ſentiments and the

proper manner of pronouncing them, that he who does not pronounce them after that manner, can never persuade us, that he believes, or feels, the sentiments themselves. His Delivery may be such, as to give the lie to all that he asserts. When Marcus Callidius accused one of an attempt to poison him, but enforced his accusation in a languid manner, and without any warmth or earnestness of Delivery, Cicero, who pleaded for the accused person, improved this into an argument of the falsity of the charge, "An tu, M. Callidi nisi fingeres, "sic ageres?" In Shakespeare's Richard II. the Duchess of York thus impeaches the sincerity of her husband:

> Pleads he in earnest?—Look upon his face,
> His eyes do drop no tears; his prayers are jest;
> His words come from his mouth; ours, from our breast;
> He prays but faintly, and would be denied;
> We pray with heart and soul.

But, I believe it is needless to say any more, in order to show the high importance of a good Delivery. I proceed, therefore, to such observations as appear to me most useful to be made on this head.

The great objects which every Public Speaker will naturally have in his eye in forming his Delivery, are, first, to speak so as to be fully and easily understood by all who hear him; and next, to speak with grace and force, so as to please and to move his Audience. Let us consider what is most important with respect to each of these*.

* On this whole subject, Mr. Sheridan's Lectures on Elocution, are very worthy of being consulted; and several hints are here taken from them.

LECT. XXXIII.

In order to be fully and eaſily underſtood, the four chief requiſites are, a due degree of Loudneſs of Voice; Diſtinctneſs; Slowneſs; and Propriety of Pronunciation.

The firſt attention of every Public Speaker, doubtleſs, muſt be, to make himſelf be heard by all thoſe to whom he ſpeaks. He muſt endeavour to fill with his voice, the ſpace occupied by the Aſſembly. This power of voice, it may be thought, is wholly a natural talent. It is ſo in a good meaſure; but, however, may receive conſiderable aſſiſtance from art. Much depends for this purpoſe on the proper pitch, and management of the voice. Every man has three pitches in his voice; the High, the Middle, and the Low one. The High, is that which he uſes in calling aloud to ſome one at a diſtance. The Low is, when he approaches to a whiſper. The Middle is, that which he employs in common converſation, and which he ſhould uſe for ordinary in public Diſcourſe. For it is a great miſtake, to imagine that one muſt take the higheſt pitch of his voice, in order to be well heard by a great Aſſembly. This is confounding two things which are different, Loudneſs, or Strength of Sound, with the key, or note on which we ſpeak. A Speaker may render his voice louder, without altering the key; and we will always be able to give moſt body, moſt perſevering force of ſound, to that pitch of voice, to which in converſation we are accuſtomed. Whereas, by ſetting out on our higheſt pitch or key, we certainly allow ourſelves leſs compaſs, and are likely to ſtrain and outrun our voice before we have done. We ſhall fatigue ourſelves, and ſpeak with pain; and whenever a man ſpeaks with pain to himſelf, he is always heard with pain by his Audience. Give the voice therefore full ſtrength and ſwell

of

of ſound; but always pitch it on your ordinary ſpeaking key. Make it a conſtant rule never to utter a greater quantity of voice, than you can afford without pain to yourſelves, and without any extraordinary effort. As long as you keep within theſe bounds, the other organs of ſpeech will be at liberty to diſcharge their ſeveral offices with eaſe; and you will always have your voice under command. But whenever you tranſgreſs theſe bounds, you give up the reins, and have no longer any management of it. It is an uſeful rule too, in order to be well heard, to fix our eye on ſome of the moſt diſtant perſons in the Aſſembly, and to conſider ourſelves as ſpeaking to them. We naturally and mechanically utter our words with ſuch a degree of ſtrength, as to make ourſelves be heard by one to whom we addreſs ourſelves, provided he be within the reach of our voice. As this is the caſe in common converſation, it will hold alſo in Public Speaking. But remember, that in public as well as in converſation, it is poſſible to offend by ſpeaking too loud. This extreme hurts the ear, by making the voice come upon it in rumbling indiſtinct maſſes; beſides its giving the Speaker the diſagreeable appearance of one who endeavours to compel aſſent, by mere vehemence and force of ſound.

In the next place, to being well heard, and clearly underſtood, diſtinctneſs of articulation contributes more, perhaps, than mere loudneſs of ſound. The quantity of ſound neceſſary to fill even a large ſpace, is ſmaller than is commonly imagined; and with diſtinct articulation, a man of a weak voice will make it reach farther, than the ſtrongeſt voice can reach without it. To this, therefore, every Public Speaker ought to pay great attention. He muſt give every ſound which he utters its due

proportion, and make every ſyllable, and even every letter in the word which he pronounces, be heard diſtinctly; without ſlurring, whiſpering, or ſuppreſſing any of the proper ſounds.

In the third place, In order to articulate diſtinctly, moderation is requiſite with regard to the ſpeed of pronouncing. Precipitancy of Speech, confounds all articulation, and all meaning. I need ſcarcely obſerve, that there may be alſo an extreme on the oppoſite ſide. It is obvious, that a lifeleſs, drawling Pronunciation, which allows the minds of the hearers to be always outrunning the Speaker, muſt render every Diſcourſe inſipid and fatiguing. But the extreme of ſpeaking too faſt is much more common, and requires the more to be guarded againſt, becauſe, when it has grown up into a habit, few errors are more difficult to be corrected. To pronounce with a proper degree of ſlowneſs, and with full and clear Articulation, is the firſt thing to be ſtudied by all who begin to ſpeak in public; and cannot be too much recommended to them. Such a Pronunciation, gives weight and dignity to their Diſcourſe. It is a great aſſiſtance to the voice, by the pauſes and reſts which it allows it more eaſily to make; and it enables the Speaker to ſwell all his ſounds, both with more force, and more muſic. It aſſiſts him alſo in preſerving a due command of himſelf; whereas a rapid and hurried manner, is apt to excite that flutter of ſpirits, which is the greateſt enemy to all right execution in the way of Oratory. "Promptum ſit os," ſays Quinctilian, "non præceps, "moderatum, non lentum."

After theſe fundamental attentions to the pitch and management of the voice, to diſtinct Articulation, and to a proper

degree

degree of slowness of speech, what a Public Speaker must, in the fourth place, study, is, propriety of Pronunciation; or the giving to every word, which he utters, that sound which the most polite usage of the language appropriates to it; in opposition, to broad, vulgar, or provincial Pronunciation. This is requisite, both for speaking intelligibly, and for speaking with grace or beauty. Instructions concerning this Article, can be given by the living voice only. But there is one observation, which it may not be improper here to make. In the English Language, every word which consists of more syllables than one, has one accented syllable. The accent rests sometimes on the vowel, sometimes on the consonant. Seldom, or never, is there more than one accented syllable in any English word, however long; and the genius of the language requires the voice to mark that syllable by a stronger percussion, and to pass more slightly over the rest. Now, having once learned the proper seats of these accents, it is an important rule, to give every word just the same accent in Public Speaking, as in common Discourse. Many persons err in this respect. When they speak in public, and with solemnity, they pronounce the syllables in a different manner from what they do at other times. They dwell upon them, and protract them; they multiply accents on the same word; from a mistaken notion, that it gives gravity and force to their Discourse, and adds to the pomp of Public Declamation. Whereas, this is one of the greatest faults that can be committed in Pronunciation; it makes what is called, a theatrical, or mouthing manner; and gives an artificial affected air to Speech, which detracts greatly both from its agreeableness, and its impression.

LECT. XXXIII.

LECT. XXXIII.

I PROCEED to treat next of thoſe higher parts of delivery, by ſtudying which, a Speaker has ſomething farther in view than merely to render himſelf intelligible, and ſeeks to give grace and force to what he utters. Theſe may be compriſed under four heads, Emphaſis, Pauſes, Tones, and Geſtures. Let me only premiſe, in general, to what I am to ſay concerning them, that attention to theſe articles of delivery is by no means to be confined, as ſome might be apt to imagine, to the more elaborate, and pathetic parts of a Diſcourſe. There is, perhaps, as great attention requiſite, and as much ſkill diſplayed, in adapting Emphaſes, Pauſes, Tones, and Geſtures, properly, to calm and plain Speaking; and the effect of a juſt and graceful delivery will, in every part of a ſubject, be found of high importance for commanding attention, and enforcing what is ſpoken.

FIRST, Let us conſider Emphaſis; by this, is meant a ſtronger and fuller ſound of voice, by which we diſtinguiſh the accented ſyllable of ſome word, on which we deſign to lay particular ſtreſs, and to ſhow how it affects the reſt of the ſentence. Sometimes the emphatic word muſt be diſtinguiſhed by a particular tone of voice, as well as by a ſtronger accent. On the right management of the Emphaſis, depends the whole life and ſpirit of every Diſcourſe. If no emphaſis be placed on any words, not only is Diſcourſe rendered heavy and lifeleſs, but the meaning left often ambiguous. If the Emphaſis be placed wrong, we pervert and confound the meaning wholly. To give a common inſtance; ſuch a ſimple queſtion as this: "Do you ride to town "to-day?" is capable of no fewer than four different acceptations, according as the Emphaſis is differently placed on the

words.

words. If it be pronounced thus; do *you* ride to town to-day? the anſwer may naturally be, No; I ſend my ſervant in my ſtead. If thus; Do you *ride* to town to-day? Anſwer, No; I intend to walk. Do you ride *to town* to-day? No; I ride out into the fields. Do you ride to town *to-day*? No; but I ſhall to-morrow. In like manner, in ſolemn Diſcourſe, the whole force and beauty of an expreſſion often depends on the accented word; and we may preſent to the hearers quite different views of the ſame Sentiment, by placing the Emphaſis differently. In the following words of our Saviour, obſerve in what different lights the thought is placed, according as the words are pronounced. "Judas, betrayeſt thou the Son of Man with a "kiſs? *Betrayeſt* thou—makes the reproach turn, on the infamy of treachery. Betrayeſt *thou*—makes it reſt, upon Judas's connection with his maſter. Betrayeſt thou the *Son of Man*—reſts it, upon our Saviour's perſonal character and eminence. Betrayeſt thou the Son of a Man *with a kiſs?* turns it, upon his proſtituting the ſignal of peace and friendſhip, to the purpoſe of a mark of deſtruction.

In order to acquire the proper management of the Emphaſis, the great rule, and indeed the only rule poſſible to be given is, that the Speaker ſtudy to attain a juſt conception, of the force and ſpirit of thoſe ſentiments which he is to pronounce. For to lay the Emphaſis with exact propriety, is a conſtant exerciſe of good ſenſe, and attention. It is far from being an inconſiderable attainment. It is one of the greateſt trials of a true and juſt taſte; and muſt ariſe from feeling delicately ourſelves, and from judging accurately, of what is fitteſt to ſtrike the feelings of others. There is as great a difference between a Chapter of

 the

LECT. XXXIII.

the Bible, or any other piece of plain profe, read by one who places the feveral Emphafes every where, with tafte and judgment, and by one who neglects or miftakes them, as there is between the fame tune played by the moft mafterly hand, or by the moft bungling performer.

In all prepared Difcourfes, it would be of great ufe, if they were read over or rehearfed in private, with this particular view, to fearch for the proper Emphafes before they were pronounced in public; marking, at the fame time, with a pen, the emphatical words in every Sentence, or at leaft in the moft weighty and affecting parts of the Difcourfe, and fixing them well in memory. Were this attention oftener beftowed, were this part of Pronunciation ftudied with more exactnefs, and not left to the moment of delivery, as is commonly done, Public Speakers would find their care abundantly repaid, by the remarkable effects which it would produce upon their Audience. Let me caution, at the fame time, againft one error, that of multiplying emphatical words too much. It is only by a prudent referve in the ufe of them, that we can give them any weight. If they recur too often; if a Speaker attempts to render every thing which he fays of high importance, by a multitude of ftrong Emphafes, we foon learn to pay little regard to them. To crowd every Sentence with emphatical words, is like crowding all the pages of a Book with Italic Characters, which, as to the effect, is juft the fame with ufing no fuch diftinctions at all

Next to Emphafis, the paufes in Speaking demand attention. Thefe are of two kinds; firft, Emphatical Paufes; and next, fuch

ſuch as mark the diſtinctions of Senſe. An Emphatical Pauſe is made, after ſomething has been ſaid of peculiar moment, and on which we want to fix the hearer's attention. Sometimes, before ſuch a thing is ſaid, we uſher it in with a pauſe of this nature. Such pauſes have the ſame effect, as a ſtrong Emphaſis; and are ſubject to the ſame rules; eſpecially to the caution juſt now given, of not repeating them too frequently. For as they excite uncommon attention, and of courſe raiſe expectation, if the importance of the matter be not fully anſwerable to ſuch expectation, they occaſion diſappointment and diſguſt.

BUT the moſt frequent and the principal uſe of pauſes, is to mark the diviſions of the ſenſe, and at the ſame time to allow the Speaker to draw his breath; and the proper and graceful adjuſtment of ſuch pauſes, is one of the moſt nice and difficult articles in delivery. In all Public Speaking, the management of the breath requires a good deal of care, ſo as not to be obliged to divide words from one another, which have ſo intimate a connection, that they ought to be pronounced with the ſame breath, and without the leaſt ſeparation. Many a ſentence is miſerably mangled, and the force of the Emphaſis totally loſt, by diviſions being made in the wrong place. To avoid this, every one, while he is ſpeaking, ſhould be very careful to provide a full ſupply of breath for what he is to utter. It is a great miſtake to imagine, that the breath muſt be drawn, only at the end of a period, when the voice is allowed to fall. It can eaſily be gathered at the intervals of the period, when the voice is only ſuſpended for a moment; and, by this management, one may have

LECT. XXXIII. have always a sufficient stock for carrying on the longest Sentence, without improper interruptions.

If any one, in Public Speaking, shall have formed to himself a certain melody or tune, which requires rest and pauses of its own, distinct from those of the sense, he has, for certain contracted one of the worst habits into which a Public Speaker can fall. It is the sense which should always rule the pauses of the voice; for wherever there is any sensible suspension of the voice, the hearer is always led to expect somewhat corresponding in the meaning. Pauses in Public Discourse, must be formed upon the manner in which we utter ourselves in ordinary, sensible conversation; and not upon the stiff artificial manner which we acquire, from reading books according to the common punctuation. The general run of punctuation is very arbitrary; often capricious and false; and dictates an uniformity of tone in the pauses, which is extremely disagreeable: for we are to observe, that to render pauses graceful and expressive, they must not only be made in the right place, but also be accompanied with a proper tone of voice, by which the nature of these pauses is intimated; much more than by the length of them, which can never be exactly measured. Sometimes it is only a slight and simple suspension of voice that is proper; sometimes a degree of cadence in the voice is required; and sometimes that peculiar tone and cadence, which denotes the Sentence finished. In all these cases, we are to regulate ourselves, by attending to the manner in which Nature teaches us to speak, when engaged in real and earnest discourse with others.

When we are reading or reciting verse, there is a peculiar difficulty in making the pauses justly. The difficulty arises from the melody of verse, which dictates to the ear pauses or rests of its own; and to adjust and compound these properly with the pauses of the sense, so as neither to hurt the ear, nor offend the understanding, is so very nice a matter, that it is no wonder we so seldom meet with good readers of poetry. There are two kinds of pauses that belong to the music of verse; one is, the pause at the end of the line; and the other, the cæsural pause in the middle of it. With regard to the pause at the end of the line, which marks that Strain or Verse to be finished, Rhyme renders this always sensible, and in some measure compels us to observe it in our Pronunciation. In blank verse, where there is a greater liberty permitted of running the lines into one another, sometimes without any suspension in the sense, it has been made a question, Whether in reading such verse with propriety, any regard at all should be paid to the close of a line? On the Stage, where the appearance of speaking in verse should always be avoided, there can, I think, be no doubt, that the close of such lines as make no pause in the sense, should not be rendered perceptible to the ear. But on other occasions, this were improper: for what is the use of melody, or for what end has the Poet composed in verse, if in reading his lines, we suppress his numbers; and degrade them, by our Pronunciation, into mere prose? We ought, therefore, certainly to read blank verse so, as to make every line sensible to the ear. At the same time in doing so, every appearance of sing-song and tone, must be carefully guarded against. The close of the line, where it makes no pause in the meaning, ought to be marked, not by such a tone as is used in finishing a sentence; but without either letting the

voice

LECT. XXXIII. voice fall, or elevating it, it ſhould be marked only by ſuch a ſlight ſuſpenſion of ſound, as may diſtinguiſh the paſſage from one line to another, without injuring the meaning.

The other kind of muſical pauſe, is that which falls ſomewhere about the middle of the verſe, and divides it into two hemiſtichs; a pauſe, not ſo great as that which belongs to the cloſe of the line, but ſtill ſenſible to an ordinary ear. This, which is called the cæſural pauſe, in the French heroic verſe falls uniformly in the middle of the line. In the Engliſh, it may fall after the 4th, 5th, 6th, or 7th ſyllables in the line, and no other. Where the verſe is ſo conſtructed, that this cæſural pauſe coincides with the ſlighteſt pauſe or diviſion in the ſenſe, the line can be read eaſily; as in the two firſt verſes of Mr. Pope's Meſſiah,

> Ye nymphs of Solyma! begin the ſong;
> To heavenly themes, ſublimer ſtrains belong.

But if it ſhall happen that words, which have ſuch a ſtrict and intimate connection, as not to bear even a momentary ſeparation, are divided from one another by this cæſural pauſe, we then feel a ſort of ſtruggle between the ſenſe and the ſound, which renders it difficult to read ſuch lines gracefully. The rule of proper Pronunciation in ſuch caſes is, to regard only the pauſe which the ſenſe forms; and to read the line accordingly. The neglect of the cæſural pauſe, may make the line ſound ſomewhat unharmoniouſly; but the effect would be much worſe, if the ſenſe were ſacrificed to the ſound. For inſtance, in the following line of Milton,

——— ——— ——— What in me is dark,
Illumine; what is low, raiſe and ſupport.

The ſenſe clearly dictates the pauſe after "illumine," at the end of the third ſyllable, which, in reading, ought to be made accordingly; though, if the melody only were to be regarded, "illumine" ſhould be connected with what follows, and the pauſe not made till the 4th or 6th ſyllable. So in the following line of Mr. Pope's (Epiſtle to Dr. Arbuthnot):

I ſit, with ſad civility I read.

The ear plainly points out the cæſural pauſe as falling after "ſad," the 4th ſyllable. But it would be very bad reading to make any pauſe there, ſo as to ſeparate "ſad" and "civility." The ſenſe admits of no other pauſe than after the ſecond ſyllable "ſit," which therefore muſt be the only pauſe made in the reading.

I PROCEED to treat next of Tones in Pronunciation, which are different both from emphaſis and pauſes; conſiſting in the modulation of the voice, the notes or variations of ſound which we employ in Public Speaking. How much of the propriety, the force and grace of Diſcourſe, muſt depend on theſe, will appear from this ſingle conſideration; that to almoſt every ſentiment we utter, more eſpecially to every ſtrong emotion, Nature hath adapted ſome peculiar tone of voice; inſomuch, that he who ſhould tell another that he was very angry, or very grieved, in a tone which did not ſuit ſuch emotions, inſtead of being believed, would be laughed at. Sympathy is one of the moſt powerful principles by which Perſuaſive Diſcourſe works its effect. The Speaker endeavours to transfuſe into his hearers his own ſentiments and emotions; which he can

never be ſucceſsful in doing, unleſs he utters them in ſuch a manner as to convince the hearers that he feels them*. The proper language and expreſſion of tones, therefore, deſerves to be attentively ſtudied by every one who would be a ſucceſsful Orator.

The greateſt and moſt material inſtruction which can be given for this purpoſe is, to form the tones of Public Speaking upon the tones of ſenſible and animated converſation. We may obſerve that every man, when he is much in earneſt in common Diſcourſe, when he is engaged in ſpeaking on ſome ſubject which intereſts him nearly, has an eloquent or perſuaſive tone and manner. What is the reaſon of our being often ſo frigid and unperſuaſive in Public Diſcourſe, but our departing from the natural tone of Speaking, and delivering ourſelves in an affected artificial manner? Nothing can be more abſurd than to imagine, that as ſoon as one mounts a Pulpit, or riſes in a Public Aſſembly, he is inſtantly to lay aſide the voice with which he expreſſes himſelf in private; to aſſume a new, ſtudied tone, and a cadence altogether foreign to his natural manner. This

* "All that paſſes in the mind of man may be reduced to two claſſes, which
" I call Ideas and Emotions. By Ideas, I mean all thoughts which riſe, and paſs
" in ſucceſſion in the mind. By Emotions, all exertions of the mind in arrang-
" ing, combining, and ſeparating its ideas; as well as all the effects produced on
" the mind itſelf by thoſe ideas, from the more violent agitation of the paſſions,
" to the calmer feelings produced by the operation of the intellect and the fancy.
" In ſhort, thought is the object of the one, internal feeling of the other. That
" which ſerves to expreſs the former, I call the Language of Ideas; and the
" latter, the Language of Emotions. Words are the ſigns of the one, tones
" of the other. Without the uſe of theſe two ſorts of Language, it is impoſ-
" ſible to communicate through the ear all that paſſes in the mind of man."

SHERIDAN on the Art of Reading.

has

has vitiated all delivery; this has given rise to cant and tedious monotony, in the different kinds of Modern Public Speaking, especially in the Pulpit. Men departed from Nature; and sought to give a beauty or force, as they imagined, to their Discourse, by substituting certain studied musical tones, in the room of the genuine expressions of sentiment, which the voice carries in natural Discourse. Let every Public Speaker guard against this error. Whether he speak in a private room, or in a great Assembly, let him remember that he still speaks. Follow Nature: consider how she teaches you to utter any sentiment or feeling of your heart. Imagine a subject of debate started in conversation among grave and wise men, and yourself bearing a share in it. Think after what manner, with what tones and inflexions of voice, you would on such an occasion express yourself, when you was most in earnest, and sought most to be listened to. Carry these with you to the Bar, to the Pulpit, or to any Public Assembly; let these be the foundation of your manner of pronouncing there; and you will take the surest method of rendering your delivery both agreeable, and persuasive.

I HAVE said, Let these conversation tones be the *foundation* of Public Pronunciation; for, on some occasions, solemn Public Speaking requires them to be exalted beyond the strain of common Discourse. In a formal studied Oration, the elevation of the Style, and the harmony of the Sentences, prompt, almost necessarily, a modulation of voice more rounded, and bordering more upon music, than conversation admits. This gives rise to what is called, the Declaiming Manner. But though this mode of Pronunciation runs considerably beyond ordinary Discourse, yet still it must have, for its basis, the natural tones of grave and dignified conversation. I must observe, at the same time, that

 the

LECT. XXXIII.

the conſtant indulgence of a declamatory manner, is not favourable either to good compoſition, or good delivery; and is in hazard of betraying Public Speakers into that monotony of tone and cadence, which is ſo generally complained of. Whereas, he who forms the general run of his delivery upon a ſpeaking manner, is not likely ever to become diſagreeable through monotony. He will have the ſame natural variety in his tones, which a perſon has in converſation. Indeed, the perfection of delivery requires both theſe different manners, that of ſpeaking with livelineſs and eaſe, and that of declaiming with ſtatelineſs and dignity, to be poſſeſſed by one man; and to be employed by him, according as the different parts of his Diſcourſe require either the one or the other. This is a perfection which not many attain; the greateſt part of Public Speakers, allowing their delivery to be formed altogether accidentally; according as ſome turn of voice appears to them moſt beautiful, or ſome artificial model has caught their fancy; and acquiring, by this means, a habit of Pronunciation, which they can never vary. But the capital direction, which ought never to be forgotten is, to copy the proper tones for expreſſing every ſentiment from thoſe which Nature dictates to us, in converſation with others; to ſpeak always with her voice; and not to form to ourſelves a fantaſtic public manner, from an abſurd fancy of its being more beautiful than a natural one *.

* "Loquere," (ſays an Author of the laſt century, who has written a Treatiſe in Verſe, de Geſtu et Voce Oratoris)

——" Loquere; hoc vitium commune, loquatur
" Ut nemo; at tenſâ declamitet omnia voce.
" Tu loquere, ut mos eſt hominum; Boat & latrat ille;
" Ille ululat; rudit hic; (fari ſi talia dignum eſt)
" Non hominem vox ulla ſonat ratione loquentem."

JOANNES LUCAS, de Geſtu et Voce, Lib. II. Paris 1675.

It now remains to treat of gesture, or what is called action in public Discourse. Some nations animate their words in common conversation, with many more motions of the body than others do. The French and the Italians are, in this respect, much more sprightly than we. But there is no nation, hardly any person so phlegmatic, as not to accompany their words with some actions and gesticulations, on all occasions, when they are much in earnest. It is therefore unnatural in a Public Speaker, it is inconsistent with that earnestness and seriousness which he ought to show in all affairs of moment, to remain quite unmoved in his outward appearance; and to let the words drop from his mouth, without any expression of meaning, or warmth in his gesture.

The fundamental rule as to propriety of action, is undoubtedly the same with what I gave as to propriety of tone. Attend to the looks and gestures, in which earnestness, indignation, compassion, or any other emotion, discovers itself to most advantage in the common intercourse of men; and let these be your model. Some of these looks and gestures are common to all men; and there are also certain peculiarities of manner which distinguish every individual. A Public Speaker must take that manner which is most natural to himself. For it is here, just as in tones. It is not the business of a Speaker to form to himself a certain set of motions and gestures, which he thinks most becoming and agreeable, and to practise these in public, without their having any correspondence to the manner which is natural to him in private. His gestures and motions ought all to carry that kind of expression which nature has dictated to him;

and

LECT. XXXIII. and, unleſs this be the caſe, it is impoſſible, by means of any ſtudy, to avoid their appearing ſtiff and forced.

HOWEVER, although nature muſt be the groundwork, I admit that there is room in this matter for ſome ſtudy and art. For many perſons are naturally ungraceful in the motions which they make; and this ungracefulneſs might, in part at leaſt, be reformed by application and care. The ſtudy of action in Public Speaking, conſiſts chiefly in guarding againſt awkward and diſageeable motions, and in learning to perform ſuch as are natural to the Speaker, in the moſt becoming manner. For this end, it has been adviſed by Writers on this ſubject, to practiſe before a mirror, where one may ſee, and judge of their own geſtures. But I am afraid, perſons are not always the beſt judges of the gracefulneſs of their own motions; and one may declaim long enough before a mirror, without correcting any of his faults. The judgment of a friend, whoſe good taſte they can truſt, will be found of much greater advantage to beginners, than any mirror they can uſe. With regard to particular rules concerning action and geſticulation, Quinctilian has delivered a great many, in the laſt Chapter of the 11th Book of his Inſtitutions; and all the Modern Writers on this ſubject have done little elſe but tranſlate them. I am not of opinion, that ſuch rules, delivered either by the voice or on paper, can be of much uſe, unleſs perſons ſaw them exemplified before their eyes *.

I SHALL

* The few following hints only I ſhall adventure to throw out, in caſe they may be of any ſervice. When ſpeaking in public, one ſhould ſtudy to preſerve as much

I SHALL only add further on this head, that in order to succeed well in delivery, nothing is more necessary than for a Speaker to guard against a certain flutter of spirits, which is peculiarly incident to those who begin to speak in public. He must endeavour above all things to be recollected, and master of himself. For this end, he will find nothing of more use to him, than to study to become wholly engaged in his subject; to be possessed with a sense of its importance or seriousness; to be concerned much more to persuade, than to please. He will

much dignity as possible in the whole attitude of the body. An erect posture is generally to be chosen; standing firm, so as to have the fullest and freest command of all his motions; any inclination which is used, should be forwards towards the hearers, which is a natural expression of earnestness. As for the countenance, the chief rule is, that it should correspond with the nature of the Discourse, and when no particular emotion is expressed, a serious and manly look, is always the best. The eyes should never be fixed close on any one object, but move easily round the Audience. In the motions made with the hands, consists the chief part of gesture in Speaking. The ancients condemned all motions performed by the left hand alone; but I am not sensible, that these are always offensive, though it is natural for the right hand to be more frequently employed. Warm emotions demand the motion of both hands corresponding together. But whether one gesticulates with one or with both hands, it is an important rule, that all his motions should be free and easy. Narrow and straitened movements are generally ungraceful; for which reason, motions made with the hands are directed to proceed from the shoulder, rather than from the elbow. Perpendicular movements too with the hands, that is, in the streight line up and down, which Shakespeare in Hamlet calls "sawing "the air with the hand," are seldom good. Oblique motions are, in general, the most graceful. Too sudden and nimble motions should be likewise avoided. Earnestness can be fully expressed without them. Shakespeare's direction on this head, are full of good sense; "use all gently," says he, "and in the very "torrent and tempest of passion, acquire a temperance that may give it smooth-"ness."

generally pleaſe moſt, when pleaſing is not his ſole nor chief aim. This is the only rational and proper method of raiſing one's ſelf above that timid and baſhful regard to an Audience, which is ſo ready to diſconcert a Speaker, both as to what he is to ſay, and as to his manner of ſaying it.

I CANNOT conclude, without an earneſt admonition to guard againſt all affectation, which is the certain ruin of good delivery. Let your manner, whatever it is, be your own; neither imitated from another, nor aſſumed upon ſome imaginary model, which is unnatural to you. Whatever is native, even though accompanied with ſeveral defects, yet is likely to pleaſe; becauſe it ſhows us a man; becauſe it has the appearance of coming from the heart. Whereas a delivery, attended with ſeveral acquired graces and beauties, if it be not eaſy and free, if it betray the marks of art and affectation, never fails to diſguſt. To attain any extremely correct, and perfectly graceful delivery, is what few can expect; ſo many natural talents being requiſite to concur in forming it. But to attain, what as to the effect is very little inferior, a forcible and perſuaſive manner, is within the power of moſt perſons; if they will only unlearn falſe and corrupt habits; if they will allow themſelves to follow nature, and will ſpeak in public, as they do in private, when they ſpeak in earneſt, and from the heart. If one has naturally any groſs defects in his voice or geſtures, he begins at the wrong end, if he attempts at reforming them, only when he is to ſpeak in public. He ſhould begin with rectifying them, in his private manner of Speaking; and then carry to the Public the right habit he has formed. For when a Speaker is engaged in a Public Diſcourſe, he ſhould not be then employing his atten-

tion about his manner, or thinking of his tones and his gestures. If he be ſo employed, ſtudy and affectation will appear. He ought to be then quite in earneſt; wholly occupied with his ſubject and his ſentiments; leaving Nature, and previouſly formed habits, to prompt and ſuggeſt his manner of Delivery. LECT. XXXIII.

LECTURE XXXIV.

MEANS OF IMPROVING IN ELOQUENCE.

LECT. XXXIV.

I HAVE now treated fully of the different kinds of Public Speaking, of the Compofition, and of the Delivery of a Difcourfe. Before finifhing this fubject, it may be of ufe, that I fuggeft fome things concerning the propereft means of Improvement in the Art of Public Speaking, and the moft neceffary ftudies for that purpofe.

To be an Eloquent Speaker, in the proper fenfe of the word, is far from being either a common or an eafy attainment. Indeed, to compofe a florid harangue on fome popular topic, and to deliver it fo as to amufe an Audience, is a matter not very difficult. But though fome praife be due to this, yet the idea, which I have endeavoured to give of Eloquence, is much higher. It is a great exertion of the human powers. It is the Art of being perfuafive and commanding; the Art, not of pleafing the fancy merely, but of fpeaking both to the underftanding and

to the heart; of interesting the hearers in such a degree, as to seize and carry them along with us; and to leave them with a deep and strong impression of what they have heard. How many talents, natural and acquired, must concur for carrying this to perfection? A strong, lively, and warm imagination; quick sensibility of heart, joined with solid judgment, good sense, and presence of mind; all improved by great and long attention to Style and Composition; and supported also by the exterior, yet important qualifications, of a graceful manner, a presence not ungainly, and a full and tuneable voice. How little reason to wonder, that a perfect and accomplished Orator, should be one of the characters that is most rarely to be found?

LET us not despair however. Between mediocrity and perfection, there is a very wide interval. There are many intermediate spaces, which may be filled up with honour; and the more rare and difficult that complete perfection is, the greater is the honour of approaching to it, though we do not fully attain it. The number of Orators who stand in the highest class is, perhaps, smaller than the number of Poets who are foremost in poetic fame; but the study of Oratory has this advantage above that of Poetry, that, in Poetry, one must be an eminently good Performer, or he is not supportable:

———————Mediocribus esse Poëtis
Non homines, non Dî, non concessêre columnæ *.

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* For God and Man, and lettered post denies,
That Poets ever are of middling size. FRANCIS.

LECT. XXXIV. In Eloquence this does not hold. There, one may poffefs a moderate ftation with dignity. Eloquence admits of a great many different forms; plain and fimple, as well as high and pathetic; and a Genius that cannot reach the latter, may fhine with much reputation and ufefulnefs in the former.

WHETHER Nature or Art contribute moft to form an Orator, is a trifling enquiry. In all attainments whatever, Nature muft be the prime agent. She muft beftow the original talents. She muft fow the feeds; but culture is requifite for bringing thofe feeds to perfection. Nature muft always have done fomewhat; but a great deal will always be left to be done by Art. This is certain, that ftudy and difcipline are more neceffary for the improvement of natural genius, in Oratory, than they are in Poetry. What I mean is, that though Poetry be capable of receiving affiftance from Critical Art, yet a Poet, without any aid from Art, by the force of genius alone, can rife higher than a Public Speaker can do, who has never given attention to the rules of Style, Compofition, and Delivery. Homer formed himfelf; Demofthenes and Cicero were formed by the help of much labour, and of many affiftances derived from the labour of others. After thefe preliminary obfervations, let us proceed to the main defign of this Lecture; to confider of the means to be ufed for Improvement in Eloquence.

IN the firft place, What ftands higheft in the order of means, is perfonal character and difpofition. In order to be a truly eloquent or perfuafive Speaker, nothing is more neceffary than to be a virtuous man. This was a favourite pofition among the antient Rhetoricans: "Non poffe Oratorem effe nifi virum "bonum."

"bonum." To find any such connection between virtue and one of the highest liberal arts, must give pleasure; and it can, I think, be clearly shown, that this is not a mere topic of declamation, but that the connection here alleged, is undoubtedly founded in truth and reason.

For, consider first, Whether any thing be more essential to persuasion, than the opinion which we entertain of the probity, disinterestedness, candour, and other good moral qualities of the person who endeavours to persuade? These give weight and force to every thing which he utters; nay, they add a beauty to it; they dispose us to listen with attention and pleasure; and create a secret partiality in favour of that side which he espouses. Whereas, if we entertain a suspicion of craft and disingenuity, of a corrupt, or a base mind, in the Speaker, his Eloquence loses all its real effect. It may entertain and amuse; but it is viewed as artifice, as trick, as the play only of Speech; and, viewed in this light, Whom can it persuade? We even read a book with more pleasure, when we think favourably of its Author; but when we have the living Speaker before our eyes, addressing us personally on some subject of importance, the opinion we entertain of his character must have a much more powerful effect.

But, lest it should be said, that this relates only to the character of Virtue, which one may maintain, without being at bottom a truly worthy man, I must observe farther, that, besides the weight which it adds to Character, real Virtue operates also, in other ways, to the advantage of Eloquence.

First,

LECT. XXXIV.

First, Nothing is so favourable as Virtue to the prosecution of honourable studies. It prompts a generous emulation to excel; it inures to industry; it leaves the mind vacant and free, master of itself, disencumbered of those bad passions, and disengaged from those mean pursuits, which have ever been found the greatest enemies to true proficiency. Quinctilian has touched this consideration very properly: "Quod si agrorum "nimia cura, et sollicitior rei familiaris diligentia, et venandi "voluptas, & dati spectaculis dies, multum studiis auferunt, "quid putamus facturas cupiditatem, avaritiam, invidiam? "Nihil enim est tam occupatum, tam multiforme, tot ac tam "variis affectibus concisum, atque laceratum, quam mala ac "improba mens. Quis inter hæc, literis, aut ulli bonæ arti, "locus? Non hercle magis quam frugibus, in terra sentibus ac "rubis occupata *."

But, besides this consideration, there is another of still higher importance, though I am not sure of its being attended to as much as it deserves; namely, that from the fountain of real and genuine virtue, are drawn those sentiments which will ever be most powerful in affecting the hearts of others. Bad as the world is, nothing has so great and universal a command

* "If the management of an estate, if anxious attention to domestic "œconomy, a passion for hunting, or whole days given up to public places "and amusements, consume so much time that is due to study, how much "greater waste must be occasioned by licentious desires, avarice, or envy? "Nothing is so much hurried and agitated, so contradictory to itself, or so "violently torn and shattered by conflicting passions, as a bad heart. Amidst "the distractions which it produces, what room is left for the cultivation of "letters, or the pursuit of any honourable art? No more, assuredly, than "there is for the growth of corn in a field that is overrun with thorns and "brambles."

over

over the minds of men as virtue. No kind of Language is so generally understood, and so powerfully felt, as the native Language of worthy and virtuous feelings. He only, therefore, who possesses these full and strong, can speak properly, and in its own language, to the heart. On all great subjects and occasions, there is a dignity, there is an energy in noble sentiments, which is overcoming and irresistible. They give an ardour and a flame to one's Discourse, which seldom fails to kindle a like flame in those who hear; and which, more than any other cause, bestows on Eloquence that power, for which it is famed, of seizing and transporting an Audience. Here, Art and Imitation will not avail. An assumed character conveys nothing of this powerful warmth. It is only a native and unaffected glow of feeling, which can transmit the emotion to others. Hence, the most renowned Orators, such as Cicero and Demosthenes, were no less distinguished for some of the high virtues, as Public Spirit and zeal for their country, than for Eloquence. Beyond doubt, to these virtues their Eloquence owed much of its effect; and those Orations of theirs, in which there breathes most of the virtuous and magnanimous spirit, are those which have most attracted the admiration of ages.

Nothing, therefore, is more necessary for those who would excel in any of the higher kinds of Oratory, than to cultivate habits of the several virtues, and to refine and improve all their moral feelings. Whenever these become dead, or callous, they may be assured, that, on every great occasion, they will speak with less power, and less success. The sentiments and dispositions, particularly requisite for them to cultivate, are the following:

LECT. XXXIV. following: The love of justice and order, and indignation at insolence and oppression; the love of honesty and truth, and detestation of fraud, meanness, and corruption; magnanimity of spirit; the love of liberty, of their country and the public; zeal for all great and noble designs, and reverence for all worthy and heroic characters. A cold and sceptical turn of mind is extremely adverse to Eloquence; and no less so, is that cavilling disposition which takes pleasure in depretiating what is great, and ridiculing what is generally admired. Such a disposition bespeaks one not very likely to excel in any thing; but least of all in Oratory. A true Orator should be a person of generous sentiments, of warm feelings, and of a mind turned towards the admiration of all those great and high objects, which mankind are naturally formed to admire. Joined with the manly virtues, he should, at the same time, possess strong and tender sensibility to all the injuries, distresses, and sorrows, of his fellow-creatures; a heart that can easily relent; that can readily enter into the circumstances of others, and can make their case his own. A proper mixture of courage, and of modesty, must also be studied by every Public Speaker. Modesty is essential; it is always, and justly, supposed, to be a concomitant of merit; and every appearance of it is winning and prepossessing. But modesty ought not to run into excessive timidity. Every Public Speaker should be able to rest somewhat on himself; and to assume that air, not of self-complacency, but of firmness, which bespeaks a consciousness of his being thoroughly persuaded of the truth, or justice, of what he delivers; a circumstance of no small consequence for making impression on those who hear.

Next to moral qualifications, what, in the fecond place, is moft neceffary to an Orator, is a fund of knowledge. Much is this inculcated by Cicero and Quinctilian: "Quod omnibus "difciplinis et artibus debet effe inftructus Orator." By which they mean, that he ought to have what we call, a Liberal Education; and to be formed by a regular ftudy of philofophy, and the polite arts. We muft never forget that,

Scribendi recte, fapere eft & principium & fons.

Good fenfe and knowledge, are the foundation of all good fpeaking. There is no art that can teach one to be eloquent, in any fphere, without a fufficient acquaintance with what belongs to that fphere; or if there were an Art that made fuch pretenfions, it would be mere quackery, like the pretenfions of the Sophifts of old, to teach their difciples to fpeak for and againft every fubject; and would be defervedly exploded by all wife men. Attention to Style, to Compofition, and all the Arts of Speech, can only affift an Orator in fetting off, to advantage, the ftock of materials which he poffeffes; but the ftock, the materials themfelves, muft be brought from other quarters than from Rhetoric. He who is to plead at the Bar, muft make himfelf thoroughly mafter of the knowledge of the Law; of all the learning and experience that can be ufeful in his profeffion, for fupporting a caufe, or convincing a Judge. He who is to fpeak from the Pulpit, muft apply himfelf clofely to the ftudy of divinity, of practical religion, of morals, of human nature; that he may be rich in all the topics, both of inftruction and of perfuafion. He who would fit himfelf for being a Member of the Supreme Council of the Nation, or of any Public Affembly,

LECT. XXXIV. must be thoroughly acquainted with the business that belongs to such Assembly; he must study the forms of Court, the course of procedure; and must attend minutely to all the facts that may be the subject of question or deliberation.

Besides the knowledge that properly belongs to that profession to which he addicts himself, a Public Speaker, if ever he expects to be eminent, must make himself acquainted, as far as his necessary occupations allow, with the general circle of polite literature. The study of Poetry may be useful to him, on many occasions, for embellishing his Style, for suggesting lively images, or agreeable allusions. The study of History may be still more useful to him; as the knowledge of facts, of eminent characters, and of the course of human affairs, finds place on many occasions *. There are few great occasions of Public Speaking, in which one will not derive assistance from cultivated taste, and extensive knowledge. They will often yield him materials for proper ornament; sometimes, for argument and real use. A deficiency of knowledge, even in subjects that belong not directly to his own profession, will expose him to many disadvantages, and give better qualified rivals a great superiority over him.

Allow me to recommend, in the third place, not only the attainment of useful knowledge, but a habit of application and in-

* "Imprimis verò, abundare debet Orator exemplorum copia, cum veterum, tum etiam novorum; adeo ut non modo quæ conscripta sunt historiis, aut Sermonibus velut per manus tradita, quæque quotidie aguntur, debeat nôsse; verùm ne ea quidem quæ a clarioribus poëtis sunt ficta negligere." QUINCT. L. xii. Cap. 4.

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duſtry. Without this, it is impoſſible to excel in any thing. We muſt not imagine, that it is by a ſort of muſhroom growth, that one can riſe to be a diſtinguiſhed Pleader, or Preacher, or Speaker in any Aſſembly. It is not by ſtarts of application, or by a few years preparation of ſtudy afterwards diſcontinued, that eminence can be attained. No; it can be attained only by means of regular induſtry, grown up into a habit, and ready to be exerted on every occaſion that calls for induſtry. This is the fixed law of our nature; and he muſt have a very high opinion of his own genius indeed, that can believe himſelf an exception to it. A very wiſe law of our nature it is; for induſtry is, in truth, the great "Condimentum," the ſeaſoning of every pleaſure; without which life is doomed to languiſh. Nothing is ſo great an enemy both to honourable attainments, and to the real, to the briſk, and ſpirited enjoyment of life, as that relaxed ſtate of mind which ariſes from indolence and diſſipation. One that is deſtined to excel in any art, eſpecially in the arts of Speaking and Writing, will be known by this more than by any other mark whatever, an enthuſiaſm for that art; an enthuſiaſm, which, firing his mind with the object he has in view, will diſpoſe him to reliſh every labour which the means require. It was this, that characteriſed the great men of antiquity; it is this, which muſt diſtinguiſh the Moderns who would tread in their ſteps. This honourable enthuſiaſm, it is highly neceſſary for ſuch as are ſtudying Oratory to cultivate. If youth wants it, manhood will flag miſerably.

In the fourth place, Attention to the beſt models will contribute greatly towards improvement. Every one who ſpeaks, or writes, ſhould, indeed, endeavour to have ſomewhat that is

LECT. XXXIV. his own, that is peculiar to himſelf, and that characteriſes his Compoſition and Style. Slaviſh Imitation depreſſes Genius, or rather betrays the want of it. But withal, there is no Genius ſo original, but may be profited and aſſiſted by the aid of proper examples, in Style, Compoſition, and Delivery. They always open ſome new ideas; they ſerve to enlarge and correct our own. They quicken the current of thought, and excite emulation.

Much, indeed, will depend upon the right choice of models which we purpoſe to imitate; and ſuppoſing them rightly choſen, a farther care is requiſite, of not being ſeduced by a blind univerſal admiration. For, "decipit exemplar, vitiis "imitabile." Even in the moſt finiſhed models we can ſelect, it muſt not be forgotten, that there are always ſome things improper for imitation. We ſhould ſtudy to acquire a juſt conception of the peculiar characteriſtic beauties of any Writer, or Public Speaker, and imitate theſe only. One ought never to attach himſelf too cloſely to any ſingle model; for he who does ſo, is almoſt ſure of being ſeduced into a faulty and affected imitation. His buſineſs ſhould be, to draw from ſeveral the proper ideas of perfection. Living examples of Public Speaking, in any kind, it will not be expected that I ſhould here point out. As to the Writers antient and modern, from whom benefit may be derived in forming Compoſition and Style, I have ſpoken ſo much of them in former Lectures, that it is needleſs to repeat what I have ſaid of their virtues and defects. I own, it is to be regretted, that the Engliſh Language, in which there is much good writing, furniſhes us, however, with but very few recorded examples of eloquent Public Speaking.

Among the French there are more. Saurin, Bourdaloue, Flechier, Maſſillon, particularly the laſt, are eminent for the Eloquence of the Pulpit. But the moſt nervous and ſublime of all their Orators is Boſſuet, the famous Biſhop of Meaux; in whoſe *Oraiſons Funebres*, there is a very high ſpirit of Oratory *. Some of Fontenelle's Harangues to the French Academy, are elegant and agreeable. And at the Bar, the printed Pleadings of Cochin and D'Agueſſeau, are highly extolled by the late French Critics. LECT. XXXIV.

There is one obſervation which it is of importance to make, concerning Imitation of the Style of any favourite Author, when we would carry his Style into Public Speaking. We muſt attend to a very material diſtinction, between written and ſpoken Language. Theſe are, in truth, two different manners of communicating ideas. A Book that is to be read, requires one ſort of Style; a man that is to ſpeak, muſt uſe another. In books, we look for correctneſs, preciſion, all redundancies pruned, all repetitions avoided, Language completely poliſhed. Speaking admits a more eaſy copious Style, and leſs fettered by rule; repetitions may often be neceſſary, parentheſes may ſometimes be graceful; the ſame thought muſt often be placed in different views; as the hearers can catch it only from the

* The criticiſm which M. Crevier, Author of Rhetorique Françoiſe, paſſes upon theſe Writers whom I have abovenamed, is: "Boſſuet eſt grande, "mais inégal; Flechier eſt plus égal, mais moins elevé, & ſouvent trop "fleuri: Bourdaloue eſt ſolide & judicieux, mais il neglige les graces legères: "Maſſillon eſt plus riche en images, mais moins fort en raiſonnement. Je "ſouhaite donc, que l'orateur ne ſe contente dans l'imitation d'un ſeul de "ces modeles, mais qu'il tache de reunir en lui toutes leurs differentes vertus." Vol. II. chap. derniere.

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LECT. XXXIV. mouth of the Speaker, and have not the advantage, as in reading a book, of turning back again, and of dwelling on what they do not fully comprehend. Hence the Style of many good authors, would appear ſtiff, affected, and even obſcure, if, by too cloſe an imitation, we ſhould transfer it to a Popular Oration. How awkward, for example, would Lord Shaftſbury's Sentences ſound, in the mouth of a Public Speaker? Some kinds of Public Diſcourſe, it is true, ſuch as that of the Pulpit, where more exact preparation, and more ſtudied Style are admitted, would bear ſuch a manner better than others, which are expected to approach more to extemporaneous ſpeaking. But ſtill there is, in general, ſo much difference between Speaking, and Compoſition deſigned only to be read, as ſhould guard us againſt a cloſe and injudicious imitation.

Some Authors there are, whoſe manner of writing approaches nearer to the Style of Speaking than others; and who, therefore, can be imitated with more ſafety. In this claſs, among the Engliſh authors, are Dean Swift, and Lord Bolingbroke. The Dean, throughout all his writings, in the midſt of much correctneſs, maintains the eaſy natural manner of an unaffected Speaker; and this is one of his chief excellencies. Lord Bolingbroke's Style is more ſplendid, and more declamatory than Dean Swift's; but ſtill it is the Style of one who ſpeaks, or rather who harangues. Indeed, all his Political Writings (for it is to them only, and not to his Philoſophical ones, that this obſervation can be applied) carry much more the appearance of one declaiming with warmth in a great Aſſembly, than of one writing in a cloſet, in order to be read by others. They have all the copiouſneſs, the fervour, the inculcating

method that is allowable, and graceful in an Orator; perhaps too much of it for a Writer: and it is to be regretted, as I have formerly obſerved, that the matter contained in them, ſhould have been ſo trivial or ſo falſe; for, from the manner and ſtyle, conſiderable advantage might be reaped. LECT. XXXIV.

In the fifth place, Beſides attention to the beſt models, frequent exerciſe both in compoſing and ſpeaking, will be admitted to be a neceſſary mean of improvement. That ſort of Compoſition is, doubtleſs, moſt uſeful, which relates to the profeſſion, or kind of Public Speaking, to which perſons addict themſelves. This, they ſhould keep ever in their eye, and be gradually inuring themſelves to it. But let me alſo adviſe them, not to allow themſelves in negligent Compoſition of any kind. He who has it for his aim to write, or to ſpeak correctly, ſhould, in the moſt trivial kind of Compoſition, in Writing a Letter, nay, even in common Diſcourſe, ſtudy to acquit himſelf with propriety. I do not at all mean, that he is never to write, or to ſpeak a word, but in elaborate and artificial Language. This would form him to a ſtiffneſs and affectation, worſe, by ten thouſand degrees, than the greateſt negligence. But it is to be obſerved, that there is, in every thing, a manner which is becoming, and has propriety; pue oppoſite to it, there is a clumſy and faulty performance of the ſame thing. The becoming manner is very often the moſt light, and ſeemingly careleſs manner; but it requires taſte and attention to ſeize the juſt idea of it. That idea, when acquired, we ſhould keep in our eye, and form upon it whatever we write or ſay.

LECT. XXXIV.

Exercises of ſpeaking have always been recommended to Students, in order that they may prepare themſelves for ſpeaking in public, and on real buſineſs. The Meetings, or Societies, into which they ſometimes form themſelves for this purpoſe, are laudable inſtitutions; and, under proper conduct, may ſerve many valuable purpoſes. They are favourable to knowledge and ſtudy, by giving occaſion to enquiries, concerning thoſe ſubjects which are made the ground of diſcuſſion. They produce emulation; and gradually inure thoſe who are concerned in them, to ſomewhat that reſembles a Public Aſſembly. They accuſtom them to know their own powers, and, to acquire a command of themſelves in ſpeaking; and what is, perhaps, the greateſt advantage of all, they give them a facility and fluency of expreſſion, and aſſiſt them in procuring that "Copia "verborum," which can be acquired by no other means but frequent exerciſe in ſpeaking.

But the Meetings which I have now in my eye, are to be underſtood of thoſe academical aſſociations, where a moderate number of young Gentlemen, who are carrying on their ſtudies, and are connected by ſome affinity in the future purſuits which they have in view, aſſemble privately, in order to improve one another, and to prepare themſelves for thoſe public exhibitions which may afterwards fall to their lot. As for thoſe public and promiſcuous Societies, in which multitudes are brought together, who are often of low ſtations and occupations, who are joined by no common bond of union, except an abſurd rage for Public Speaking, and have no other object in view, but to make a ſhow of their ſuppoſed talents, they are inſtitutions not merely of an uſeleſs, but of an hurtful nature.

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They are in great hazard of proving ſeminaries of licentiouſneſs, petulance, faction, and folly. They miſlead thoſe who, in their own callings, might be uſeful members of ſociety, into fantaſtic plans of making a figure on ſubjects, which divert their attention from their proper buſineſs, and are widely remote from their ſphere in life.

Even the allowable meetings into which Students of Oratory form themſelves, ſtand in need of direction in order to render them uſeful. If their ſubjects of Diſcourſe be improperly choſen; if they maintain extravagant or indecent topics; if they indulge themſelves in looſe and flimſy declamation, which has no foundation in good ſenſe; or accuſtom themſelves to ſpeak pertly on all ſubjects without due preparation, they may improve one another in petulance, but in no other thing; and will infallibly form themſelves to a very faulty and vicious taſte in ſpeaking. I would, therefore, adviſe all who are Members of ſuch Societies, in the firſt place, to attend to the choice of their ſubjects; that they be uſeful and manly, either formed on the courſe of their ſtudies, or on ſomething that has relation to morals and taſte, to action and life. In the ſecond place, I would adviſe them to be temperate in the practice of Speaking; not to ſpeak too often, nor on ſubjects where they are ignorant or unripe; but only, when they have proper materials for a Diſcourſe, and have digeſted and thought of the ſubject before-hand. In the third place, When they do ſpeak, they ſhould ſtudy always to keep good ſenſe and perſuaſion in view, rather than an oſtentation of Eloquence; and for this end, I would, in the fourth place, repeat the advice which I gave in a former Lecture, that they ſhould always

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LECT. XXXIV. choose that side of the question to which, in their own judgment, they are most inclined, as the right and the true side; and defend it by such arguments as seem to them most solid. By these means, they will take the best method of forming themselves gradually to a manly, correct, and persuasive manner of Speaking.

It now only remains to enquire, of what use may the study of Critical and Rhetorical Writers be, for improving one in the practice of Eloquence? These are certainly not to be neglected; and yet, I dare not say that much is to be expected from them. For professed Writers on Public Speaking, we must look chiefly among the Antients. In modern times, for reasons which were before given, Popular Eloquence, as an Art, has never been very much the object of study; it has not the same powerful effects now that it had in more democratical states; and therefore has not been cultivated with the same care. Among the Moderns, though there has been a great deal of good criticism on the different kinds of writing, yet much has not been attempted on the subject of Eloquence, or Public Discourse; and what has been given us of that kind, has been drawn mostly from the Antients. Such a writer as Joannes Gerardus Vossius, who has gathered into one heap of ponderous lumber, all the trifling, as well as the useful things, that are to be found in the Greek and Roman Writers, is enough to disgust one with the study of Eloquence. Among the French, there has been more attempted, on this subject, than among the English. The Bishop of Cambray's Writings on Eloquence, I before mentioned with honour. Rollin, Batteux, Crevier, Gibert, and several other French Critics, have also written on

Oratory; but though ſome of them may be uſeful, none of them are ſo conſiderable as to deſerve particular recommendation. LECT. XXXIV.

It is to the original Antient Writers that we muſt chiefly have recourſe; and it is a reproach to any one, whoſe profeſſion calls him to ſpeak in public, to be unacquainted with them. In all the Antient Rhetorical Writers, there is, indeed, this defect, that they are too ſyſtematical, as I formerly ſhowed; they aim at doing too much; at reducing Rhetoric to a complete and perfect Art, which may even ſupply invention with materials on every ſubject; inſomuch, that one would imagine they expected to form an Orator by rule, in as mechanical a manner as one would form a Carpenter. Whereas, all that can, in truth, be done, is to give openings for aſſiſting and enlightening Taſte, and for pointing out to Genius the courſe it ought to hold.

Aristotle laid the foundation for all that was afterwards written on the ſubject. That amazing and comprehenſive Genius, which does honour to human nature, and which gave light into ſo many different Sciences, has inveſtigated the principles of Rhetoric with great penetration. Ariſtotle appears to have been the firſt who took Rhetoric out of the hands of the Sophiſts, and introduced reaſoning and good ſenſe into the Art. Some of the profoundeſt things which have been written on the paſſions and manners of men, are to be found in his Treatiſe on Rhetoric; though in this, as in all his writings, his great brevity often renders him obſcure. Succeeding Greek Rhetoricians, moſt of whom are now loſt, improved on the

foundation which Ariſtole had laid. Two of them ſtill remain, Demetrius Phalereus, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus; both write on the Conſtruction of Sentences, and deſerve to be peruſed; eſpecially Dionyſius, who is a very accurate and judicious Critic.

I NEED ſcarcely recommend the rhetorical writings of Cicero. Whatever, on the ſubject of Eloquence, comes from ſo great an Orator, muſt be worthy of attention. His moſt conſiderable work on this ſubject is that *De Oratore*, in three books. None of Cicero's writings are more highly finiſhed than this Treatiſe. The dialogue is polite; the characters are well ſupported, and the conduct of the whole is beautiful and agreeable. It is, indeed, full of digreſſions, and his rules and obſervations may be thought ſometimes too vague and general. Uſeful things, however, may be learned from it; and it is no ſmall benefit to be made acquainted with Cicero's own idea of Eloquence. The "Orator ad M. Brutum," is alſo a conſiderable Treatiſe; and, in general, throughout all Cicero's rhetorical works there run thoſe high and ſublime ideas of Eloquence, which are fitted both for forming a juſt taſte, and for creating that enthuſiaſm for the Art, which is of the greateſt conſequence for excelling in it.

BUT, of all the Antient Writers on the ſubject of Oratory, the moſt inſtructive, and moſt uſeful, is Quinctilian. I know few books which abound more with good ſenſe, and diſcover a greater degree of juſt and accurate taſte, than Quinctilian's Inſtitutions. Almoſt all the principles of good Criticiſm are to be found in them. He has digeſted into excellent order all the

the antient ideas concerning Rhetoric, and is, at the ſame time, himſelf an eloquent Writer. Though ſome parts of his work contain too much of the technical and artificial ſyſtem then in vogue, and for that reaſon may be thought dry and tedious, yet I would not adviſe the omitting to read any part of his Inſtitutions. To Pleaders at the Bar, even theſe technical parts may prove of ſome uſe. Seldom has any perſon, of more ſound and diſtinct judgment than Quinctilian, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Art of Oratory.

LECTURE XXXV.

COMPARATIVE MERIT OF THE ANTIENTS AND THE MODERNS—HISTORICAL WRITING.

LECT. XXXV. I HAVE now finiſhed that part of the Courſe which reſpected Oratory, or Public Speaking, and which, as far as the ſubject allowed, I have endeavoured to form into ſome ſort of ſyſtem. It remains, that I enter on the conſideration of the moſt diſtinguiſhed kinds of Compoſition both in proſe and Verſe, and point out the principles of Criticiſm relating to them. This part of the work might eaſily be drawn out to a great length; but I am ſenſible, that critical diſcuſſions, when they are purſued too far, become both trifling and tedious. I ſhall ſtudy, therefore, to avoid unneceſſary prolixity; and hope, at the ſame time, to omit nothing that is very material under the ſeveral heads.

I SHALL follow the ſame method here which I have all along purſued, and without which, theſe Lectures could not be entitled

entitled to any attention; that is, I ſhall freely deliver my own opinion on every ſubject; regarding authority no farther, than as it appears to me founded on good ſenſe and reaſon. In former Lectures, as I have often quoted ſeveral of the antient claſſics for their beauties, ſo I have alſo, ſometimes, pointed out their defects. Hereafter, I ſhall have occaſion to do the ſame, when treating of their writings under more general heads. It may be fit, therefore, that, before proceeding farther, I make ſome obſervations on the comparative merit of the Antients and the Moderns; in order that we may be able to aſcertain rationally, upon what foundation that deference reſts, which has ſo generally been paid to the Antients. Theſe obſervations are the more neceſſary, as this ſubject has given riſe to no ſmall controverſy in the Republic of Letters; and they may, with propriety, be made now, as they will ſerve to throw light on ſome things I have afterwards to deliver, concerning different kinds of Compoſition.

It is a remarkable phænomenon, and one which has often employed the ſpeculations of curious men, that writers and artiſts, moſt diſtinguiſhed for their parts and Genius, have generally appeared in conſiderable numbers at a time. Some ages have been remarkably barren in them; while, at other periods, nature ſeems to have exerted herſelf with a more than ordinary effort, and to have poured them forth with a profuſe fertility. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for this. Some of the moral cauſes lie obvious; ſuch as favourable circumſtances of government and of manners; encouragement from great men; emulation excited among the men of Genius. But as theſe have been thought inadequate to the whole effect,

phyſical

LECT. XXXV.

physical causes have been also assigned; and the Abbé du Bos, in his Reflections on Poetry and Painting, has collected a great many observations on the influence which the air, the climate, and other such natural causes, may be supposed to have upon genius. But whatever the causes be, the fact is certain, that there have been certain periods or ages of the world much more distinguished than others, for the extraordinary productions of genius.

LEARNED men have marked out four of these happy Ages. The first is the Grecian Age, which commenced near the time of the Peloponnesian war, and extended till the time of Alexander the Great; within which period, we have Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lysias, Isocrates, Pindar, Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Menander, Anacreon, Theocritus, Lysippus, Apelles, Phidias, Praxiteles. The second, is the Roman Age, included nearly within the days of Julius Cæsar and Augustus; affording us, Catullus, Lucretius, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Phædrus, Cæsar, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Varro, and Vitruvius. The third Age is, that of the restoration of Learning, under the Popes Julius II. and Leo X.; when flourished Ariosto, Tasso, Sannazarius, Vida, Machiavel, Guicciardini, Davila, Erasmus, Paul Jovius, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian. The fourth, comprehends the Age of Louis XIV. and Queen Anne, when flourished in France, Corneille, Racine, De Retz, Moliere, Boileau, Fontaine, Baptiste Rousseau, Bossuet, Fenelon, Bourdaloue, Pascall, Malebranche, Massillon, Bruyere, Bayle, Fontenelle, Vertot; and in England, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Prior, Swift, Parnell, Congreve, Otway,

Young,

Young, Rowe, Atterbury, Shaftſbury, Bolingbroke, Tillotſon, Temple, Boyle, Locke, Newton, Clark. LECT. XXXV.

When we ſpeak comparatively of the Ancients and the Moderns, we generally mean by the Ancients, ſuch as lived in the two firſt of theſe periods, including alſo one or two who lived more early, as Homer in particular; and by the Moderns, thoſe who flouriſhed in the two laſt of theſe ages, including alſo the eminent Writers down to our own times. Any compariſon between theſe two claſſes of Writers, cannot be other than vague and looſe, as they comprehend ſo many, and of ſuch different kinds and degrees of genius. But the compariſon is generally made to turn, by thoſe who are fond of making it, upon two or three of the moſt diſtinguiſhed in each claſs. With much heat it was agitated in France, between Boileau and Mad. Dacier, on the one hand, for the Antients, and Perrault and La Motte, on the other, for the Moderns; and it was carried to extremes on both ſides. To this day, among men of taſte and letters, we find a leaning to one or other ſide. A few reflections may throw light upon the ſubject, and enable us to diſcern upon what grounds we are to reſt our judgment in this controverſy.

If any one, at this day, in the eighteenth century, takes upon him to decry the ancient claſſics; if he pretends to have diſcovered that Homer and Virgil are Poets of inconſiderable merit, and that Demoſthenes and Cicero are not great Orators, we may boldly venture to tell ſuch a man, that he is come too late with his diſcovery. The reputation of ſuch Writers is eſtabliſhed upon a foundation too ſolid, to be now ſhaken by any

LECT. XXXV.

arguments whatever; for it is established upon the almost universal taste of mankind, proved and tried throughout the succession of so many ages. Imperfections in their works he may indeed point out; passages that are faulty he may shew; for where is the human work that is perfect? But, if he attempts to discredit their works in general, or to prove that the reputation which they have gained is, on the whole, unjust, there is an argument against him, which is equal to full demonstration. He must be in the wrong; for human nature is against him. In matters of taste, such as Poetry and Oratory, to whom does the appeal lie? where is the standard? and where the authority of the last decision? where is it to be looked for, but, as I formerly shewed, in those feelings and sentiments that are found, on the most extensive examination, to be the common sentiments and feelings of men? These have been fully consulted on this head. The Public, the unprejudiced Public, has been tried and appealed to for many centuries, and throughout almost all civilized nations. It has pronounced its verdict; it has given its sanction to those writers; and from this Tribunal there lies no farther appeal.

In matters of mere reasoning, the world may be long in an error; and may be convinced of the error by stronger reasonings, when produced. Positions that depend upon science, upon knowledge, and matters of fact, may be overturned according as science and knowledge are enlarged, and new matters of fact are brought to light. For this reason, a system of Philosophy receives no sufficient sanction from its antiquity, or long currency. The world, as it grows older, may be justly expected to become, if not wiser, at least more knowing; and supposing

it

it doubtful whether Aristotle, or Newton, were the greater genius, yet Newton's Philosophy may prevail over Aristotle's, by means of later discoveries, to which Aristotle was a stranger. But nothing of this kind holds as to matters of Taste; which depend not on the progress of knowledge and science, but upon sentiment and feeling. It is in vain to think of undeceiving mankind, with respect to errors committed here, as in Philosophy. For the universal feeling of mankind is the natural feeling; and because it is the natural, it is, for that reason, the right feeling. The reputation of the Iliad and the Æneid must therefore stand upon sure ground, because it has stood so long; though that of the Aristotelian or Platonic philosophy, every one is at liberty to call in question.

It is in vain also to allege, that the reputation of the Ancient Poets, and Orators, is owing to authority, to pedantry, and to the prejudices of education, transmitted from age to age. These, it is true, are the Authors put into our hands at schools and colleges, and by that means we have now an early prepossession in their favour; but how came they to gain the possession of colleges and schools? Plainly, by the high fame which these Authors had among their own cotemporaries. For the Greek and Latin were not always dead languages. There was a time, when Homer, and Virgil, and Horace, were viewed in the same light as we now view Dryden, Pope, and Addison. It is not to commentators and universities, that the classics are indebted for their fame. They became classics and school-books, in consequence of the high admiration which was paid them by the best judges in their own country and nation. As early as the days of Juvenal, who wrote under the reign of Domitian,

LECT. XXXV.

we find Virgil and Horace become the ſtandard books in the education of youth.

> Quot ſtabant pueri, cum totus decolor eſſet
> Flaccus, & hæreret nigro fuligo Maroni.
>
> SAT. 7 *.

FROM this general principle, then, of the reputation of great ancient Claſſics being ſo early, ſo laſting, ſo univerſal, among all the moſt poliſhed nations, we may juſtly and boldly infer that their reputation cannot be wholly unjuſt, but muſt have a ſolid foundation in the merit of their writings.

LET us guard, however, againſt a blind and implicit veneration for the Ancients, in every thing. I have opened the general principle, which muſt go far in inſtituting a fair compariſon between them and the Moderns. Whatever ſuperiority the Ancients may have had in point of genius, yet in all arts, where the natural progreſs of knowledge has had room to produce any conſiderable effects, the Moderns cannot but have ſome advantage. The world may, in certain reſpects, be conſidered as a perſon, who muſt needs gain ſomewhat by advancing in years. Its improvements have not, I confeſs, been always in proportion to the centuries that have paſſed over it; for, during the courſe of ſome ages, it has ſunk as into a total lethargy. Yet, when rouſed from that lethargy, it has generally been able to

* "Then thou art bound to ſmell, on either hand,
"As many ſtinking lamps, as ſchoolboys ſtand,
"When Horace could not read in his own ſully'd book,
"And Virgil's facred page was all beſmeared with ſmoke."

DRYDEN.

avail

avail itself, more or less, of former discoveries. At intervals, there arose some happy genius, who could both improve on what had gone before, and invent something new. With the advantage of a proper stock of materials, an inferior genius can make greater progress, than a much superior one, to whom these materials are wanting.

Hence, in Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, and other Sciences that depend on an extensive knowledge and observation of facts, Modern Philosophers have an unquestionable superiority over the Ancient. I am inclined also to think, that in matters of pure reasoning, there is more precision among the Moderns, than in some instances there was among the Ancients; owing perhaps to a more extensive literary intercourse, which has improved and sharpened the faculties of men. In some studies too, that relate to taste and fine writing, which is our object, the progress of Society must, in equity, be admitted to have given us some advantages. For instance, in History; there is certainly more political knowledge in several European nations at present, than there was in ancient Greece and Rome. We are better acquainted with the nature of government, because we have seen it under a greater variety of forms and revolutions. The world is more laid open than it was in former times; commerce is greatly enlarged; more countries are civilized; posts are every where established; intercourse is become more easy; and the knowledge of facts, by consequence, more attainable. All these are great advantages to Historians; of which, in some measure, as I shall afterwards show, they have availed themselves. In the more complex kinds of Poetry, likewise, we may have gained somewhat, perhaps, in point of regularity and accuracy.

accuracy. In Dramatic Performances, having the advantage of the ancient models, we may be allowed to have made some improvements, in the variety of the characters, the conduct of the plot, attentions to probability, and to decorums.

These seem to me the chief points of superiority we can plead above the Ancients. Neither do they extend as far, as might be imagined at first view. For if the strength of genius be on one side, it will go far, in works of taste at least, to counterbalance all the artificial improvements which can be made by greater knowledge and correctness. To return to our comparison of the age of the world with that of a man; it may be said, not altogether without reason, that if the advancing age of the world bring along with it more science and more refinement, there belong, however, to its earlier periods, more vigour, more fire, more enthusiasm of genius. This appears indeed to form the characteristical difference between the Ancient Poets, Orators, and Historians, compared with the Modern. Among the Ancients, we find higher conceptions, greater simplicity, more original fancy. Among the Moderns, sometimes more art and correctness, but feebler exertions of genius. But, though this be in general a mark of distinction between the Ancients and Moderns, yet, like all general observations, it must be understood with some exceptions; for in point of poetical fire and original genius, Milton and Shakespeare are inferior to no Poets in any age.

It is proper to observe, that there were some circumstances in ancient times, very favourable to those uncommon efforts of genius which were then exerted. Learning was a much more

rare and ſingular attainment in the earlier ages, than it is at preſent. It was not to ſchools and univerſities that the perſons applied, who ſought to diſtinguiſh themſelves. They had not this eaſy recourſe. They travelled for their improvement into diſtant countries, to Egypt, and to the Eaſt. They enquired after all the monuments of learning there. They converſed with Prieſts, Philoſophers, Poets, with all who had acquired any diſtinguiſhed fame. They returned to their own country full of the diſcoveries which they had made, and fired by the new and uncommon objects which they had ſeen. Their knowledge and improvements coſt them more labour, raiſed in them more enthuſiaſm, were attended with higher rewards and honours, than in modern days. Fewer had the means and opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, than now; but ſuch as did diſtinguiſh themſelves, were ſure of acquiring that fame, and even veneration, which is, of all other rewards, the greateſt incentive to genius. Herodotus read his hiſtory to all Greece aſſembled at the Olympic games, and was publicly crowned. In the Peloponneſian war, when the Athenian army was defeated in Sicily, and the priſoners were ordered to be put to death, ſuch of them as could repeat any verſes of Euripides were ſaved, from honour to that Poet, who was a citizen of Athens. Theſe were teſtimonies of public regard, far beyond what modern manners confer upon genius.

In our times, good writing is conſidered as an attainment, neither ſo difficult, nor ſo high and meritorious.

Scribimus indocti, doctique, Poëmata paſſim *.

* "Now every deſperate blockhead dares to write;
"Verſe is the trade of every living wight." FRANCIS.

We

LECT. XXXV.

We write much more ſupinely, and at our eaſe, than the Ancients. To excel, is become a much leſs conſiderable object. Leſs effort, leſs exertion is required, becauſe we have many more aſſiſtances than they. Printing has rendered all books common, and eaſy to be had. Education for any of the learned profeſſions can be carried on without much trouble. Hence a mediocrity of genius is ſpread over all. But to riſe beyond that, and to overtop the crowd, is given to few. The multitude of aſſiſtances which we have for all kinds of compoſition, in the opinion of Sir William Temple, a very competent judge, rather depreſſes, than favours, the exertions of native genius. "It is very poſſible," ſays that ingenious Author, in his Eſſay on the Ancients and Moderns, "that men may loſe rather than "gain by theſe; may leſſen the force of their own genius, by "forming it upon that of others; may have leſs knowledge of their "own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. "So a man that only tranſlates, ſhall never be a Poet; ſo people that truſt to others charity, rather than their own induſtry, will be always poor. Who can tell," he adds, "whether learning may not even weaken invention, in a man that "has great advantages from nature? Whether the weight and "number of ſo many other men's thoughts and notions may "not ſuppreſs his own; as heaping on wood ſometimes ſuppreſſes a little ſpark, that would otherwiſe have grown into a "flame? The ſtrength of mind, as well as of body, grows more "from the warmth of exerciſe, than of clothes; nay, too much "of this foreign heat, rather makes men faint, and their conſtitutions weaker than they would be without them."

From whatever cauſe it happens, ſo it is, that among ſome of the Ancient Writers, we muſt look for the higheſt models in

most

moſt of the kinds of elegant Compoſition. For accurate thinking and enlarged ideas, in ſeveral parts of Philoſophy, to the Moderns we ought chiefly to have recourſe. Of correct and finiſhed writing in ſome works of taſte, they may afford uſeful patterns; but for all that belongs to original genius, to ſpirited, maſterly, and high execution, our beſt and moſt happy ideas are, generally ſpeaking, drawn from the Ancients. In Epic Poetry, for inſtance, Homer and Virgil, to this day, ſtand not within many degrees of any rival. Orators, ſuch as Cicero and Demoſthenes, we have none. In hiſtory, notwithſtanding ſome defects, which I am afterwards to mention in the Ancient Hiſtorical Plans, it may be ſafely aſſerted, that we have no ſuch hiſtorical narration, ſo elegant, ſo pictureſque, ſo animated, and intereſting as that of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, Tacitus, and Salluſt. Although the conduct of the drama may be admitted to have received ſome improvements, yet for Poetry and Sentiment we have nothing to equal Sophocles and Euripides; nor any dialogue in Comedy, that comes up to the correct, graceful, and elegant ſimplicity of Terence. We have no ſuch Love Elegies as thoſe of Tibullus; no ſuch Paſtorals as ſome of Theocritus's: and for Lyric Poetry, Horace ſtands quite unrivalled. The name of Horace cannot be mentioned without a particular encomium. That "Curioſa Felicitas," which Petronius has remarked in his expreſſion; the ſweetneſs, elegance, and ſpirit of many of his Odes, the thorough knowledge of the world, the excellent Sentiments, and natural eaſy manner which diſtinguiſh his Satyres and Epiſtles, all contribute to render him one of thoſe very few Authors whom one never tires of reading; and from whom alone, were every other monument deſtroyed,

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LECT. XXXV. we would be led to form a very high idea of the taste and genius of the Augustan Age.

To all such then, as wish to form their taste, and nourish their genius, let me warmly recommend the assiduous study of the Ancient Classics, both Greek and Roman.

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ *.

Without a considerable acquaintance with them, no man can be reckoned a polite scholar; and he will want many assistances for writing and speaking well, which the knowledge of such Authors would afford him. Any one has great reason to suspect his own taste, who receives little or no pleasure from the perusal of Writings, which so many ages and nations have consented in holding up as objects of admiration. And I am persuaded, it will be found, that in proportion as the Ancients are generally studied and admired, or are unknown and disregarded in any country, good taste and good composition will flourish, or decline. They are commonly none but the ignorant or superficial, who undervalue them.

At the same time, a just and high regard for the prime writers of antiquity is to be always distinguished, from that contempt of every thing which is Modern, and that blind veneration for all that has been written in Greek or Latin, which belongs only to pedants. Among the Greek and Roman Authors, some assuredly deserve much higher regard than others;

* "Read them by day, and study them by night."

Francis.

nay,

nay, ſome are of no great value. Even the beſt of them lie open occaſionally to juſt cenſure; for to no human performance is it given, to be abſolutely perfect. We may, we ought therefore to read them with a diſtinguiſhing eye, ſo as to propoſe for imitation their beauties only; and it is perfectly conſiſtent with juſt and candid criticiſm, to find fault with parts, while, at the ſame time, it admires the whole.

AFTER theſe reflections on the Ancients and Moderns, I proceed to a critical examination of the moſt diſtinguiſhed kinds of Compoſition, and the Characters of thoſe Writers who have excelled in them, whether Modern or Ancient.

THE moſt general diviſion of the different kinds of Compoſition is, into thoſe written in Proſe, and thoſe written in Verſe; which certainly require to be ſeparately conſidered, becauſe ſubject to ſeparate laws. I begin, as is moſt natural, with Writings in Proſe. Of Orations, or Public Diſcourſes of all kinds, I have already treated fully. The remaining ſpecies of Proſe Compoſitions, which aſſume any ſuch regular form, as to fall under the cognizance of Criticiſm, ſeem to be chiefly theſe: Hiſtorical Writing, Philoſophical Writing, Epiſtolary Writing, and Fictitious Hiſtory. Hiſtorical Compoſition ſhall be firſt conſidered; and, as it is an object of dignity, I purpoſe to treat of it at ſome length.

As it is the office of an Orator to perſuade, it is that of an Hiſtorian to record truth for the inſtruction of mankind. This is the proper object and end of hiſtory, from which may be deduced many of the laws relating to it; and if this object were

LECT. XXXV.

always kept in view, it would prevent many of the errors into which persons are apt to fall, concerning this species of Composition. As the primary end of History is to record Truth, Impartiality, Fidelity, and Accuracy, are the fundamental qualities of an Historian. He must neither be a Panegyrist, nor a Satyrist. He must not enter into faction, nor give scope to affection: but, contemplating past events and characters with a cool and dispassionate eye, must present to his Readers a faithful copy of human nature.

At the same time, it is not every record of facts, however true, that is entitled to the name of History; but such a record as enables us to apply the transactions of former ages for our own instruction. The facts ought to be momentous and important; represented in connection with their causes; traced to their effects; and unfolded in clear and distinct order. For wisdom is the great end of History. It is designed to supply the want of experience. Though it enforce not its instructions with the same authority, yet it furnishes us with a greater variety of instructions, than it is possible for experience to afford, in the course of the longest life. Its object is, to enlarge our views of the human character, and to give full exercise to our judgment on human affairs. It must not therefore be a tale calculated to please only, and addressed to the fancy. Gravity and dignity are essential characteristics of History; no light ornaments are to be employed, no flippancy of style, no quaintness of wit. But the Writer must sustain the character of a wise man, writing for the instruction of posterity; one who has studied to inform himself well, who has pondered his subject with care, and addresses himself to our judgment, rather than to our

 imagination.

imagination. Not that this is inconſiſtent with ornamented and ſpirited narration. Hiſtory admits of much high ornament and elegance; but the ornaments muſt be always conſiſtent with dignity; they ſhould not appear to be ſought after; but to riſe naturally from a mind animated by the events which it records.

HISTORICAL Compoſition is underſtood to comprehend under it, Annals, Memoirs, Lives. But theſe are its inferior ſubordinate ſpecies; on which I ſhall hereafter make ſome reflections, when I ſhall have firſt conſidered what belongs to a regular and legitimate work of Hiſtory. Such a work is chiefly of two kinds. Either the entire Hiſtory of ſome ſtate or kingdom through its different revolutions, ſuch as Livy's Roman Hiſtory; or the Hiſtory of ſome one great event, or ſome portion or period of time which may be conſidered as making a whole by itſelf; ſuch as, Thucydides's Hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, Davila's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of France, or Clarendon's of thoſe of England.

IN the conduct and management of his ſubject, the firſt attention requiſite in an Hiſtorian, is to give it as much unity as poſſible; that is, his Hiſtory ſhould not conſiſt of ſeparate unconnected parts merely, but ſhould be bound together by ſome connecting principle, which ſhall make the impreſſion on the mind of ſomething that is one, whole and entire. It is inconceivable how great effect this, when happily executed, has upon a Reader, and it is ſurpriſing that ſome able Writers of Hiſtory have not attended to it more. Whether pleaſure or inſtruction be the end ſought by the ſtudy of Hiſtory, either of them is enjoyed to much greater advantage, when the mind

has always before it the progress of some one great plan or system of actions; when there is some point or centre, to which we can refer the various facts related by the Historian.

In general Histories, which record the affairs of a whole nation or empire throughout several ages, this unity, I confess, must be more imperfect. Yet even there, some degree of it can be preserved by a skilful Writer. For though the whole, taken together, be very complex, yet the great constituent parts of it, form so many subordinate wholes, when taken by themselves; each of which can be treated both as complete within itself, and as connected with what goes before and follows. In the History of a Monarchy, for instance, every reign should have its own unity; a beginning, a middle, and an end to the system of affairs; while, at the same time, we are taught to discern how that system of affairs rose from the preceding, and how it is inserted into what follows after. We should be able to trace all the secret links of the chain, which binds together remote, and seemingly unconnected events. In some kingdoms of Europe, it was the plan of many succeeding princes to reduce the power of their nobles; and during several reigns, most of the leading actions had a reference to this end. In other states, the rising power of the Commons, influenced for a tract of time the course and connection of public affairs. Among the Romans, the leading principle was a gradual extension of conquest, and the attainment of universal empire. The continual increase of their power, advancing towards this end from small beginnings, and by a sort of regular progressive plan, furnished to Livy a happy subject for historical unity, in the midst of a great variety of transactions.

Of all the ancient general Hiſtorians, the one who had the moſt exact idea of this quality of Hiſtorical Compoſition, though, in other reſpects, not an elegant Writer, is Polybius. This appears from the account he gives of his own plan in the beginning of his Third Book; obſerving, that the ſubject of which he had undertaken to write, is, throughout the whole of it, one action, one great ſpectacle; how, and by what cauſes, all the parts of the habitable world became ſubject to the Roman empire. "This "action," ſays he, "is diſtinct in its beginning, determined in "its duration, and clear in its final accompliſhment; therefore, I "think it of uſe, to a give a general view beforehand, of the "chief conſtituent parts which make up this whole." In another place, he congratulates himſelf on his good fortune, in having a ſubject for Hiſtory, which allowed ſuch variety of parts to be united under one view; remarking, that before this period, the affairs of the world were ſcattered, and without connection; whereas, in the times of which he writes, all the great tranſactions of the world tended and verged to one point, and were capable of being conſidered as parts of one ſyſtem. Whereupon he adds ſeveral very judicious obſervations, concerning the uſefulneſs of writing Hiſtory upon ſuch a comprehenſive and connected plan; comparing the imperfect degree of knowledge, which is afforded by particular facts without general views, to the imperfect idea which one would entertain of an animal, who had beheld its ſeparate parts only, without having ever ſeen its entire form and ſtructure *.

Such

* Καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν οἱ πεπεισμένοι διὰ τῆς κατὰ μέρος ἱςορίας μετρίως συνόψεσθαι τὰ ὅλα, παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχειν, ὡς ἂν εἴ τινες ἐμψύχου

καὶ

LECT. XXXV.

SUCH as write the history of some particular great transaction, as confine themselves to one æra, or one portion of the history of a nation, have so great advantages for preserving historical unity, that they are inexcusable if they fail in it. Sallust's Histories of the Catilinarian and Jugurthine wars, Xenophon's Cyropœdia, and his Retreat of the Ten Thousand, are instances of particular Histories, where the unity of historical object is perfectly well maintained. Thucycides, otherwise a Writer of great strength and dignity, has failed much, in this article, in his history of the Peloponnesian war. No one great object is properly pursued, and kept in view; but his narration is cut down into small pieces; his history is divided by summers and winters; and we are every now and then leaving transactions unfinished, and are hurried from place to place, from Athens to Sicily, from thence to Peloponnesus, to Corcyra, to Mitylene, that we may be told of what is going on in all these places. We have a great many disjointed parts, and scattered limbs, which with difficulty we collect into one body; and through this faulty distribution and management of his subject, that judicious Historian becomes more tiresome, and less agreeable than he

καὶ καλοῦ σώματος γεγονότος διεῤῥιμμένα τα μερη θεώμενοι, νομίζοιεν ἱκανῶς αὐτόπται γίνεσθαι της ἐνεργείας αυτοῦ τε ζώου και καλλονης. εἰ γάρ τις αὐτίκα μαλα συνθεὶς και τέλειον αὖθις απεργασαμενος τον ζῶον, τῷ τε εἴδει δε τῇ τῆς ψυχης ευπρεπεία κἄπειτα παλίν ἐπιδεικνύοι τοῖς αὐτοίς ἐκείνοις, ταχεως ἄν οἶμαι πάντας αὐτούς ὁμολογήσειν διό τι καὶ λίαν πολύ τις τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπελείποντο πρόσθεν καὶ παραπλήσιον τοῖς ὀνειρώττουσιν ἦσαν. ἔννοιαν μὲν γάρ λαβεῖν απο μερους τῶν ὅλων δυνατόν. ἐπιστήμην δὲ καὶ γνώμην ἀτρεκῆ ἔχειν ἀδύνατον. διο παντελῶς βραχύ τι νομιστέον συμβάλλεσθαι τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίαν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐμπειρίαν και πίστιν. ἐκ μέν τοιγε τής απαντων προς ἄλληλα συμπλοκῆς και παραθέσεως, ετι δ᾽ ὁμοιότητος και διαφορᾶς μόνως ἄν τις ἐφίκοιτο δε δυνηθείη κατοπτεύσας, ἅμα καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν, εν της ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.

POLYB. Histor. Prim.

he would otherwise be. For these reasons, he is severely censured by one of the best Critics of antiquity, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *. LECT. XXXV.

The Historian must not indeed neglect chronological order, with a view to render his narration agreeable. He must give a distinct account of the dates, and of the coincidence of facts. But he is not under the necessity of breaking off always in the

* The censure which Dionysius passes upon Thucydides, is, in several articles, carried too far. He blames him for the choice of his subject, as not sufficiently splendid and agreeable, and as abounding too much in crimes and melancholy events, on which he observes that Thucydides loves to dwell. He is partial to Herodotus, whom, both for the choice and the conduct of his subject, he prefers to the other Historian. It is true, that the subject of Thucydides wants the gaiety and splendor of that of Herodotus; but it is not deficient in dignity. The Peloponnesian war was the contest between two great rival powers, the Athenian and Lacedemonian states, for the empire of Greece. Herodotus loves to dwell on prosperous incidents, and retains somewhat of the amusing manner of the ancient poetical historians. But Herodotus wrote to the Imagination. Thucydides writes to the Understanding. He was a grave reflecting man, well acquainted with human life; and the melancholy events and catastrophes which he records, are often both the most interesting parts of history, and the most improving to the heart.

The Critic's observations on the faulty distribution which Thucydides makes of his subject are better founded, and his preference of Herodotus, in this respect, is not unjust.—Θουκυδιδης μεν τοις χρονοις ἀκολουθων, Ἡροδοτος δε ταις περιοχαις τῶν πραγματων, γιγνεται Θουκυδιδης ἀσαφης και δυσπαρακολουθητος· πολλων γαρ κατα το αὐτο θερος και χειμωνα γιγνομενων εν διαφοραις τοποις, ἡμιτελεις τας πρωτας πραξεις καταλιπων, ετερων απτεται των κατα το αυτο θερος και χειμωνα γιγνομενων. πλανωμεθα δη καθαπερ εικος, και δυσκολως τοις δηλουμενοις παρακολουθουμεν. Συμβεβηκε Θουκυδιδη μιαν ὑποθεσιν λαβοντι πολλα ποιησαι μερη το εν σωμα. Ἡροδοτω δε τας πολλας και ουδεν εοικυιας ὑποθεσεις προελομενω, συμφωνον εν σωμα πεποιηκεναι. With regard to Style, Dionysius gives Thucydides the just praise of energy and brevity; but censures him, on many occasions, not without reason, for harsh and obscure expression, deficient in smoothness and ease.

LECT. XXXV. middle of tranſactions, in order to inform us of what was happening elſewhere at the ſame time. He diſcovers no art, if he cannot form ſome connection among the affairs which he relates, ſo as to introduce them in a proper train. He will ſoon tire the Reader, if he goes on recording, in ſtrict chronological order, a multitude of ſeparate tranſactions, connected by nothing elſe, but their happening at the ſame time.

Though the hiſtory of Herodotus be of greater compaſs than that of Thucydides, and comprehend a much greater variety of diſſimilar parts, he has been more fortunate in joining them together; and digeſting them into order. Hence he is a more pleaſing Writer, and gives a ſtronger impreſſion of his ſubject; though in judgment and accuracy, much inferior to Thucydides. With digreſſions and epiſodes he abounds; but when theſe have any connection with the main ſubject, and are inſerted profeſſedly as Epiſodes, the unity of the whole is leſs violated by them, than by a broken and ſcattered narration of the principal ſtory. Among the Moderns, the Preſident Thuanus has, by attempting to make the Hiſtory of his own times too univerſal, fallen into the ſame error, of loading the Reader with a great variety of unconnected facts, going on together in different parts of the world: an Hiſtorian otherwiſe of great probity, candour, and excellent underſtanding; but through this want of unity, more tedious, and leſs intereſting than he would otherwiſe have been.

I

LECTURE XXXVI.

HISTORICAL WRITING.

AFTER making some observations on the controversy which has been often carried on concerning the comparative merit of the Ancients and the Moderns, I entered, in the last Lecture, on the consideration of Historical Writing. The general idea of History is, a record of truth for the instruction of mankind. Hence arise the primary qualities required in a good Historian, impartiality, fidelity, gravity, and dignity. What I principally considered, was the unity which belongs to this sort of Composition; the nature of which I have endeavoured to explain.

I PROCEED next to observe, that in order to fulfil the end of History, the Author must study to trace to their springs the actions and events which he records. Two things are especially necessary for his doing this successfully; a thorough acquaintance with human nature, and political knowledge, or acquaint-

LECT. XXXVI. ance with government. The former is neceſſary to account for the conduct of individuals, and to give juſt views of their character; the latter, to account for the revolutions of government, and the operation of political cauſes on public affairs. Both muſt concur, in order to form a completely inſtructive Hiſtorian.

WITH regard to the latter article, Political Knowledge, the Ancient Writers wanted ſome advantages which the Moderns enjoy; from whom, upon that account, we have a title to expect more accurate and preciſe information. The world, as I formerly hinted, was more ſhut up in ancient times, than it is now; there was then leſs communication among neighbouring ſtates, and by conſequence leſs knowledge, of one another's affairs; no intercourſe by eſtabliſhed poſts, or by Ambaſſadors reſident at diſtant courts. The knowledge, and materials of the Ancient Hiſtorians, were thereby more limited and circumſcribed; and it is to be obſerved too, that they wrote for their own countrymen only; they had no idea of writing for the inſtruction of foreigners, whom they deſpiſed, or of the world in general; and hence, they are leſs attentive to convey all that knowledge with regard to domeſtic policy, which we, in diſtant times, would deſire to have learned from them. Perhaps alſo, though in ancient ages men were abundantly animated with the love of liberty, yet the full extent of the influence of government, and of political cauſes, was not then ſo thoroughly ſcrutinized, as it has been in modern times; when a longer experience of all the different modes of government has rendered men more enlightened and intelligent, with reſpect to public affairs.

To these reasons it is owing, that though the Ancient Historians set before us the particular facts which they relate, in a very distinct and beautiful manner, yet sometimes they do not give us a clear view of all the political causes, which affected the situation of affairs of which they treat. From the Greek Historians, we are able to form but an imperfect notion, of the strength, the wealth, and the revenues of the different Grecian states; of the causes of several of those revolutions that happened in their government; or of their separate connections and interfering interests. In writing the History of the Romans, Livy had surely the most ample field for displaying political knowledge, concerning the rise of their greatness, and the advantages or defects of their government. Yet the instruction in these important articles, which he affords, is not considerable. An elegant Writer he is, and a beautiful relater of facts, if ever there was one; but by no means distinguished for profoundness or penetration. Sallust, when writing the history of a conspiracy against the government, which ought to have been altogether a Political History, has evidently attended more to the elegance of narration, and the painting of characters, than to the unfolding of secret causes and springs. Instead of that complete information, which we would naturally have expected from him of the state of parties in Rome, and of that particular conjuncture of affairs, which enabled so desperate a profligate as Catiline to become so formidable to government, he has given us little more than a general declamatory account of the luxury and corruption of manners in that age, compared with the simplicity of former times.

I by no means, however, mean to censure all the Ancient Historians as defective in political information. No Historians

LECT. XXXVI.

can be more instructive than Thucydides, Polybius, and Tacitus. Thucydides is grave, intelligent, and judicious; always attentive to give very exact information concerning every operation which he relates; and to show the advantages or disadvantages of every plan that was proposed, and every measure that was pursued. Polybius excels in comprehensive political views, in penetration into great systems, and in his profound and distinct knowledge of all military affairs. Tacitus is eminent for his knowledge of the human heart; is sentimental and refined in a high degree; conveys much instruction with respect to political matters, but more with respect to human nature.

But when we demand from the Historian profound and instructive views of his subject, it is not meant that he should be frequently interrupting the course of his History, with his own reflections and speculations. He should give us all the information that is necessary for our fully understanding the affairs which he records. He should make us acquainted with the political constitution, the force, the revenues, the internal state of the country of which he writes; and with its interests and connections in respect of neighbouring countries. He should place us, as on an elevated station, whence we may have an extensive prospect of all the causes that co-operate in bringing forward the events which are related. But having put into our hands all the proper materials for judgment, he should not be too prodigal of his own opinions and reasonings. When an Historian is much given to dissertation, and is ready to philosophise and speculate on all that he records, a suspicion naturally arises, that he will be in hazard of adapting his narrative of facts to favour some system which he has formed to himself. It is rather by

fair

fair and judicious narration that hiſtory ſhould inſtruct us, than by delivering inſtruction in an avowed and direct manner. On ſome occaſions, when doubtful points require to be ſcrutinized, or when ſome great event is in agitation, concerning the cauſes or circumſtances of which mankind have been much divided, the narrative may be allowed to ſtand ſtill for a little; the Hiſtorian may appear, and may with propriety enter into ſome weighty diſcuſſion. But he muſt take care not to cloy his Readers with ſuch diſcuſſions, by repeating them too often.

When obſervations are to be made concerning human nature in general, or the peculiarities of certain characters, if the Hiſtorian can artfully incorporate ſuch obſervations with his narrative, they will have a better effect than when they are delivered as formal detached reflections. For inſtance; in the life of Agricola, Tacitus, ſpeaking of Domitian's treatment of Agricola, makes this obſervation: "Proprium humani ingenii "eſt, odiſſe quem læſeris *." The obſervation is juſt and well applied; but the form, in which it ſtands, is abſtract and philoſophical. A thought of the ſame kind has a finer effect elſewhere in the ſame Hiſtorian, when ſpeaking of the jealouſies which Germanicus knew to be entertained againſt him by Livia and Tiberius: "Anxius," ſays he, "occultis in ſe patrui aviæ-"que odiis, quorum cauſæ acriores quia iniquæ †." Here a profound moral obſervation is made; but it is made, without appearing to make it in form; it is introduced as a part of the

* "It belongs to human nature, to hate the man whom you have in-"jured."

† "Uneaſy in his mind, on account of the concealed hatred entertained "againſt him by his uncle and grandmother, which was the more bitter, be-"cauſe the cauſe of it was unjuſt."

narration,

LECT. XXXVI. narration, in assigning a reason for the anxiety of Germanicus. We have another instance of the same kind, in the account which he gives of a mutiny raised against Rufus, who was a "Præfectus Castrorum," on account of the severe labour which he imposed on the soldiers. "Quippe Rufus, diu manipularis, "dein centurio, mox castris præfectus, antiquam duramque "militiam revocabat, vetus operis & laboris, et eo immitior "quia toleraverat *." There was room for turning this into a general observation, that they who have been educated and hardened in toils, are commonly found to be the most severe in requiring the like toils from others. But the manner in which Tacitus introduces this sentiment, as a stroke in the character of Rufus, gives it much more life and spirit. This Historian has a particular talent of intermixing after this manner with the course of his narrative, many striking sentiments and useful observations.

Let us next proceed to consider the proper qualities of Historical Narration. It is obvious, that on the manner of narration much must depend, as the first notion of History is the recital of past facts; and how much one mode of recital may be preferable to another we shall soon be convinced, by thinking of the different effects, which the same story, when told by two different persons, is found to produce.

The first virtue of Historical Narration, is Clearness, Order, and due Connection. To attain this, the Historian must be com-

* "For Rufus, who had long been a common soldier, afterwards a Centu-"rion, and at length a general officer, restored the severe military discipline of "ancient times. Grown old amidst toils and labours, he was the more rigid "in imposing them, because he had been accustomed to bear them."

pletely maſter of his ſubject; he muſt ſee the whole as at one view; and comprehend the chain and dependance of all its parts, that he may introduce every thing in its proper place; that he may lead us ſmoothly along the track of affairs which are recorded, and may always give us the ſatisfaction of ſeeing how one event ariſes out of another. Without this, there can be neither pleaſure nor inſtruction, in reading Hiſtory. Much for this end will depend on the obſervance of that unity in the general plan and conduct, which, in the preceding Lecture, I recommended. Much too will depend on the proper management of tranſitions, which forms one of the chief ornaments of this kind of writing, and is one of the moſt difficult in execution. Nothing tries an Hiſtorian's abilities more, than ſo to lay his train before-hand, as to make us paſs naturally and agreeably from one part of his ſubject to another; to employ no clumſy and awkward junctures; and to contrive ways and means of forming ſome union among tranſactions, which ſeem to be moſt widely ſeparated from one another.

In the next place, as Hiſtory is a very dignified ſpecies of Compoſition, gravity muſt always be maintained in the narration. There muſt be no meanneſs nor vulgarity in the ſtyle; no quaint, nor colloquial phraſes; no affectation of pertneſs, or of wit. The ſmart, or the ſneering manner of telling a ſtory, are inconſiſtent with the hiſtorical character. I do not ſay, that an Hiſtorian is never to let himſelf down. He may ſometimes do it with propriety, in order to diverſify the ſtrain of his narration, which, if it be perfectly uniform, is apt to become tireſome. But he ſhould be careful never to deſcend too far; and, on occaſions where a light or ludicrous anecdote is proper to be

LECT. XXXVI. recorded, it is generally better to throw it into a note, than to hazard becoming too familiar, by introducing it into the body of the work.

But an Hiſtorian may poſſeſs theſe qualities of being perſpicuous, diſtinct, and grave, and may notwithſtanding be a dull Writer; in which caſe, we ſhall reap little benefit from his labours. We will read him without pleaſure; or, moſt probably, we ſhall ſoon give over to read him at all. He muſt therefore ſtudy to render his narration intereſting; which is the quality that chiefly diſtinguiſhes a Writer of genius and eloquence.

Two things are eſpecially conducive to this; the firſt is, a juſt medium in the conduct of narration, between a rapid or crowded recital of facts, and a prolix detail. The former embarraſſes, and the latter tires us. An Hiſtorian that would intereſt us, muſt know when to be conciſe, and where he ought to enlarge; paſſing conciſely over ſlight and unimportant events, but dwelling on ſuch as are ſtriking and conſiderable in their nature, or pregnant with conſequences; preparing beforehand our attention to them, and bringing them forth into the moſt full and conſpicuous light. The next thing he muſt attend to, is a proper ſelection of the circumſtances belonging to thoſe events, which he chooſes to relate fully. General facts make a ſlight impreſſion on the mind. It is by means of circumſtances and particulars properly choſen, that a narration becomes intereſting and affecting to the Reader. Theſe give life, body, and colouring to the recital of facts, and enable us to behold them as preſent, and paſſing before our eyes. It is this employment of circumſtances,

circumſtances, in Narration, that is properly termed Hiſtorical Painting.

In all theſe virtues of Narration, particularly in this laſt, of picturefque deſcriptive Narration, ſeveral of the Antient Hiſtorians eminently excel. Hence, the pleaſure that is found in reading Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, Salluſt, and Tacitus. They are all conſpicuous for the Art of Narration. Herodotus is, at all times, an agreeable Writer, and relates every thing with that *naïveté* and ſimplicity of manner, which never fails to intereſt the Reader. Though the manner of Thucydides be more dry and harſh, yet, on great occaſions, as when he is giving an account of the Plague of Athens, the Siege of Platæa, the Sedition in Corcyra, the Defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, he diſplays a very ſtrong and maſterly power of deſcription. Xenophon's Cyropædia, and his Anabaſis, or retreat of the Ten Thouſand, are extremely beautiful. The circumſtances are finely ſelected, and the Narration is eaſy and engaging; but his Hellenics, or Continuation of the Hiſtory of Thucydides, is a much inferior work. Salluſt's Art of Hiſtorical Painting in his Catilinarian, but, more eſpecially, in his Jugurthine War, is well known; though his Style is liable to cenſure, as too ſtudied and affected.

Livy is more unexceptionable in his manner; and is excelled by no Hiſtorian whatever in the Art of Narration: ſeveral remarkable examples might be given from him. His account, for inſtance, of the famous defeat of the Roman army by the Samnites, at the Furcæ Caudinæ, in the beginning of

LECT. XXXVI.

the ninth book, affords one of the most beautiful exemplifications of Historical Painting, that is any where to be met with. We have first, an exact description of the narrow pass between two mountains, into which the enemy had decoyed the Romans. When they find themselves caught, and no hope of escape left, we are made to see, first, their astonishment, next, their indignation, and then, their dejection, painted in the most lively manner, by such circumstances and actions as were natural to persons in their situation. The restless and unquiet manner in which they pass the night; the consultations of the Samnites; the various measures proposed to be taken; the messages between the two armies, all heighten the scene. At length, in the morning, the Consuls return to the camp, and inform them that they could receive no other terms but that of surrendering their arms, and passing under the yoke, which was considered as the last mark of ignominy for a conquered army. Part of what then follows, I shall give in the Author's own words. "Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus; ut "vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum "locum deducti essent. Alii alios intueri, contemplari arma "mox tradenda, & inermes futuras dextras; proponere "sibimet ipsi ante oculos, jugum hostile, et ludibria victoris, "et vultus superbos, et per armatos inermium iter. Inde fœdi "agminis miserabilem viam; per sociorum urbes reditum in "patriam ac parentes quo sæpe ipsi triumphantes venissent. Se "solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non "stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferere; "sibi nequicquam arma, nequicquam vires, nequicquam "animos datos. Hæc frementibus, hora fatalis ignominiæ "advenit. Jamprimùm, cum singulis vestimentis, inermes

"extra

"extra vallum abire jussi. Tum a consulibus abire lictores "jussi, paludamentaque detracta. Tantam hoc inter ipsos, "qui paulo ante eos dedendos, lacerandosque censuerant, "miserationem fecit, ut suæ quisque conditionis oblitus, ab "illa deformatione tantæ majestatis, velut ab nefando specta-"culo, averteret oculos. Primi consules, prope seminudi, sub "jugum missi *," &c. The rest of the story which it would

* "The arrival of the Consuls in the camp, wrought up their passions to such "a degree, that they could scarcely abstain from laying violent hands on them, "as by their rashness they had been brought into this situation. They began to "look on one another; to cast a melancholy eye on their arms, which were now "to be surrendered, and on their right hands, which were to become defence-"less. The yoke under which they were to pass; the scoffs of the conque-"rors; and their haughty looks, when, disarmed and stripped, they should be "led through the hostile lines; all rose before their eyes. They then looked "forward to the sad journey which awaited them, when they were to pass as a "vanquished and disgraced army through the territories of their allies, by "whom they had often been beheld returning in triumph to their families and "native land. They alone, they muttered to one another, without an engage-"ment, without a single blow, had been conquered. To their hard fate it "fell, never to have had it in their power to draw a sword, or to look an "enemy in the face; to them only, arms, strength, and courage, had been "given in vain. While they were thus giving vent to their indignation, the "fatal moment of their ignominy arrived. First, they were all commanded "to come forth from the camp, without armour, and in a single garment. "Next, orders were given, that the Consuls should be left without their Lic-"tors, and that they should be stripped of their robes. Such commiseration "did this affront excite among them, who, but a little before, had been for "delivering up those very Consuls to the enemy, and for putting them to death, "that every one forgot his own condition, and turned his eyes aside from this "infamous disgrace, suffered by the consular dignity, as from a spectacle "which was too detestable to be beheld. The Consuls, almost half naked, were "first made to pass under the yoke," &c.

be

LECT. XXXVI. be too long to insert, is carried on with the same beauty, and full of picturesque circumstances *.

Tacitus is another Author eminent for Historical Painting, though in a manner altogether different from that of Livy. Livy's descriptions are more full, more plain, and natural; those of Tacitus consist in a few bold strokes. He selects one or two remarkable circumstances, and sets them before us in a strong, and, generally, in a new and uncommon light. Such is the following picture of the situation of Rome, and of the Emperor Galba, when Otho was advancing against him: "Agebatur "huc illuc Galba, vario turbæ fluctuantis impulsu, completis "undique basilicis et templis, lugubri prospectu. Neque "populi aut plebis ulla vox; sed attoniti vultus, et conversæ

* The description which Cæsar gives of the consternation occasioned in his camp, by the accounts which were spread among his troops, of the ferocity, the size, and the courage of the Germans, affords an instance of Historical Painting, executed in a simple manner; and, at the same time, exhibiting a natural and lively scene: "Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem moratur, ex "percunctatione nostrorum, vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti "magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute, atque exercitatione "in armis esse prædicabant; sæpe numero sese cum iis congressos, ne vultum "quidem, atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse; tantus subito terror omnem "exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque per-"turbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, ac præfectis, reliquis-"que qui ex urbe, amicitiæ causa, Cæsarem secuti, suum periculum misera-"bantur, quod non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius, "aliâ causâ illatâ quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat "ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret. Nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris sus-"picionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere, neque interdum "lacrymas tenere poterant. Abditi in tabernaculis, aut suum fatum quære-"bantur, aut cum familiaribus suis, commune periculum miserabantur, "Vulgo, totis castris testamenta obsignabantur." De Bell. Gall. L. I.

"ad omnia aures. Non tumultus, non quies; fed quale magni "metûs, et magnæ iræ, filentium eft *. No image, in any Poet, is more ftrong and expreffive than this laft ftroke of the difcription: "Non tumultus, non quies, fed quale," &c. This is a conception of the fublime kind, and difcovers high genius. Indeed, throughout all his work, Tacitus fhows the hand of a mafter. As he is profound in reflexion, fo he is ftriking in defcription, and pathetic in fentiment. The Philofopher, the Poet, and the Hiftorian, all meet in him. Though the period of which he writes may be reckoned unfortunate for a Hiftorian, he has made it afford us many interefting exhibitions of human nature. The relations which he gives of the deaths of feveral eminent perfonages, are as affecting as the deepeft tragedies. He paints with a glowing pencil; and poffeffes, beyond all Writers, the talent of painting, not to the imagination merely, but to the heart. With many of the moft diftinguifhed beauties, he is, at the fame time, not a perfect model for Hiftory, and fuch as have formed themfelves upon him, have feldom been fuccefsful. He is to be admired, rather than imitated. In his reflexions, he is too refined; in his ftyle, too concife, fometimes quaint and affected, often abrupt and obfcure. Hiftory feems to require a more natural, flowing, and popular manner.

* "Galba was driven to and fro by the tide of the multitude, fhoving him "from place to place. The temples and public buildings were filled with "crowds, of a difmal appearance. No clamours were heard, either from "the citizens, or from the rabble. Their countenances were filled with "confternation; their ears were employed in liftening with anxiety. It was "not a tumult; it was not quietnefs; it was the filence of terror, and of "wrath."

LECT. XXXVI.

The Antients employed one embellishment of History which the Moderns have laid aside, I mean Orations, which, on weighty occasions, they put into the mouths of some of their chief personages. By means of these, they diversified their history; they conveyed both moral and political instruction; and, by the opposite arguments which were employed, they gave us a view of the sentiments of different parties. Thucydides was the first who introduced this method. The Orations with which his History abounds, and those too of some other Greek and Latin Historians, are among the most valuable remains which we have of Antient Eloquence. How beautiful soever they are, it may be much questioned, I think, whether they find a proper place in History. I rather incline to think, that they are unsuitable to it. For they form a mixture which is unnatural in History, of fiction with truth. We know, that these Orations are entirely of the Author's own composition, and that he has introduced some celebrated person haranguing in a public place, purely that he might have an opportunity of showing his own eloquence, or delivering his own sentiments, under the name of that person. This is a sort of poetical liberty which does not suit the gravity of History, throughout which, an air of the strictest truth should always reign. Orations may be an embellishment to History; such might also Poetical Compositions be, introduced under the name of some of the personages mentioned in the Narration, who were known to have possessed poetical talents. But neither the one, nor the other, find a proper place in History. Instead of inserting formal Orations, the method adopted by later Writers, seems better and more natural; that of the Historian, on some great occasion, delivering, in his own person,

son, the sentiments and reasonings of the opposite parties, or the substance of what was understood to be spoken in some Public Assembly; which he may do without the liberty of fiction. LECT. XXXVI.

The drawing of characters is one of the most splendid, and, at the same time, one of the most difficult ornaments of Historical Composition. For characters are generally considered, as professed exhibitions of fine writing; and an Historian, who seeks to shine in them, is frequently in danger of carrying refinement to excess, from a desire of appearing very profound and penetrating. He brings together so many contrasts, and subtile oppositions of qualities, that we are rather dazzled with sparkling expressions, than entertained with any clear conception of a human character. A Writer who would characterise in an instructive and masterly manner, should be simple in his style, and should avoid all quaintness and affectation; at the same time, not contenting himself with giving us general outlines only, but descending into those peculiarities which mark a character, in its most strong and distinctive features. The Greek Historians sometimes give elogiums, but rarely draw full and professed characters. The two Antient Authors who have laboured this part of Historical Composition most, are Sallust and Tacitus.

As History is a species of Writing designed for the instruction of mankind, sound morality should always reign in it. Both in describing characters, and in relating transactions, the Author should always show himself to be on the side of virtue. To deliver moral instruction in a formal manner, falls

LECT. XXXVI.

not within his province; but both as a good man, and as a good Writer, we expect, that he should discover sentiments of respect for virtue, and of indignation at flagrant vice. To appear neutral and indifferent with respect to good and bad characters, and to affect a crafty and political, rather than a moral turn of thought, will, besides other bad effects, derogate greatly from the weight of Historical Composition, and will render the strain of it much more cold and uninteresting. We are always most interested in the transactions which are going on, when our sympathy is awakened by the story, and when we become engaged in the fate of the actors. But this effect can never be produced by a Writer, who is deficient in sensibility and moral feeling.

As the observations which I have hitherto made, have mostly respected the Antient Historians, it may naturally be expected, that I should also take some notice of the Moderns who have excelled in this kind of Writing.

The country in Europe, where the Historical Genius has, in latter ages, shone forth with most lustre, beyond doubt is Italy. The national character of the Italians seems favourable to it. They were always distinguished as an acute, penetrating, reflecting people, remarkable for political sagacity and wisdom, and who early addicted themselves to the arts of Writing. Accordingly, soon after the restoration of letters, Machiavel, Guicciardin, Davila, Bentivoglio, Father Paul, became highly conspicuous for historical merit. They all appear to have conceived very just ideas of History; and are agreeable, instructive, and interesting Writers. In their manner of

narration,

narration, they are much formed upon the Antients; ſome of them, as Bentivoglio and Guicciardin, have, in imitation of them, introduced Orations into their Hiſtory. In the profoundneſs and diſtinctneſs of their political views, they may, perhaps, be eſteemed to have ſurpaſſed the Antients. Critics have, at the ſame time, obſerved ſome imperfections in each of them. Machiavel, in his Hiſtory of Florence, is not altogether ſo intereſting as one would expect an Author of his abilities to be; either through his own defect, or through ſome unhappineſs in his ſubject, which led him into a very minute detail of the intrigues of one city. Guicciardin, at all times ſenſible and profound, is taxed for dwelling ſo long on the Tuſcan affairs as to be ſometimes tedious; a defect which is alſo imputed, occaſionally, to the judicious Father Paul. Bentivoglio, in his excellent Hiſtory of the wars of Flanders, is accuſed for approaching to the florid and pompous manner: and Davila, though one of the moſt agreeable and entertaining Relaters, has manifeſtly this defect of ſpreading a ſort of uniformity over all his characters, by repreſenting them as guided too regularly by political intereſt. But, although ſome ſuch objections may be made to theſe Authors, they deſerve, upon the whole, to be placed in the firſt rank of Modern Hiſtorical Writers. The wars of Flanders, written in Latin by Famianus Strada, is a book of ſome note; but is not entitled to the ſame reputation as the works of the other Hiſtorians I have named. Strada is too violently partial to the Spaniſh cauſe; and too open a Panegyriſt of the Prince of Parma. He is florid, diffuſe, and an affected imitator of the manner and ſtyle of Livy.

LECT. XXXVI.

Among the French, as there has been much good Writing in many kinds, so also in the Historical. That ingenious nation, who have done so much honour to Modern Literature, possess, in an eminent degree, the talent of Narration. Many of their later Historical Writers are spirited, lively, and agreeable; and some of them not deficient in profoundness and penetration. They have not, however, produced any such capital Historians as the Italians, whom I mentioned above.

Our Island, till within these few years, was not eminent for its historical productions. Early, indeed, Scotland made some figure by means of the celebrated Buchanan. He is an elegant Writer, classical in his Latinity, and agreeable both in narration and description. But one cannot but suspect him to be more attentive to elegance, than to accuracy. Accustomed to form his political notions wholly upon the plans of antient governments, the feudal system seems never to have entered into his thoughts; and as this was the basis of the Scottish constitution, his political views are, of course, inaccurate and imperfect. When he comes to the transactions of his own time, there is such a change in his manner of writing, and such an asperity in his style, that, on what side soever the truth lies with regard to those dubious and long controverted facts which make the subject of that part of his work, it is impossible to clear him from being deeply tinctured with the spirit of party.

Among the older English Historians, the most considerable is Lord Clarendon. Though he writes as the professed apologist of

of one ſide, yet there appears more impartiality in his relation of facts, than might at firſt be expected. A great ſpirit of virtue and probity runs through his work. He maintains all the dignity of an Hiſtorian. His ſentences, indeed, are often too long, and his general manner is prolix; but his ſtyle, on the whole, is manly; and his merit, as a Hiſtorian, is much beyond mediocrity. Biſhop Burnet is lively and perſpicuous; but he has hardly any other hiſtorical merit. His ſtyle is too careleſs and familiar for Hiſtory; his characters are, indeed, marked with a bold and a ſtrong hand; but they are generally light and ſatyrical; and he abounds ſo much in little ſtories concerning himſelf, that he reſembles more a Writer of Memoirs than of Hiſtory. During a long period, Engliſh Hiſtorical Authors were little more than dull Compilers; till of late the diſtinguiſhed names of Hume, Robertſon, and Gibbon, have raiſed the Britiſh character, in this ſpecies of Writing, to high reputation and dignity.

I OBSERVED, in the preceding Lecture, that Annals, Memoirs, and Lives, are the inferior kinds of Hiſtorical Compoſition. It will be proper, before diſmiſſing this ſubject, to make a few obſervations upon them. Annals are commonly underſtood to ſignify a collection of facts, digeſted according to chronological order; rather ſerving for the materials of Hiſtory, than aſpiring to the name of Hiſtory themſelves. All that is required, therefore, in a Writer of ſuch Annals, is to be faithful, diſtinct, and complete.

MEMOIRS denote a ſort of Compoſition, in which an Author does not pretend to give full information of all the facts reſpecting

LECT. XXXVI.

respecting the period of which he writes, but only to relate what he himself had access to know, or what he was concerned in, or what illustrates the conduct of some person, or the circumstances of some transaction, which he chooses for his subject. From a Writer of Memoirs, therefore, is not exacted the same profound research, or enlarged information, as from a writer of History. He is not subject to the same laws of unvarying dignity and gravity. He may talk freely of himself; he may descend into the most familiar anecdotes. What is chiefly required of him is, that he be sprightly and interesting; and especially, that he inform us of things that are useful and curious; that he convey to us some sort of knowledge worth the acquiring. This is a species of Writing very bewitching to such as love to write concerning themselves, and conceive every transaction, in which they had a share, to be of singular importance. There is no wonder, therefore, that a nation so sprightly as the French, should, for two centuries past, have been pouring forth a whole flood of Memoirs; the greatest part of which are little more than agreeable trifles.

Some, however, must be excepted from this general character; two in particular; the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, and those of the Duke of Sully. From Retz's Memoirs, besides the pleasure of agreeable and lively narration, we may derive also much instruction, and much knowledge of human nature. Though his politics be often too fine spun, yet the Memoirs of a professed factious leader, such as the Cardinal was, wherein he draws both his own character, and that of several great personages of his time, so fully, cannot be read by any person of good sense without benefit. The Memoirs

of the Duke of Sully, in the ſtate in which they are now given to the Public, have great merit, and deſerve to be mentioned with particular praiſe. No Memoirs approach more near to the uſefulneſs, and the dignity of a full legitimate Hiſtory. They have this peculiar advantage, of giving us a beautiful diſplay of two of the moſt illuſtrious characters which hiſtory preſents; Sully himſelf, one of the ableſt, and moſt incorrupt miniſters, and Henry IV. one of the greateſt and moſt amiable princes of modern times. I know few books more full of virtue, and of good ſenſe, than Sully's Memoirs; few, therefore, more proper to form both the heads and the hearts of ſuch as are deſigned for public buſineſs, and action, in the world.

BIOGRAPHY, or the Writing of Lives, is a very uſeful kind of Compoſition; leſs formal and ſtately than Hiſtory; but to the bulk of Readers, perhaps, no leſs inſtructive; as it affords them the opportunity of ſeeing the characters and tempers, the virtues and failings of eminent men fully diſplayed; and admits them into a more thorough and intimate acquaintance with ſuch perſons, than Hiſtory generally allows. For a Writer of Lives may deſcend, with propriety, to minute circumſtances, and familiar incidents. It is expected of him, that he is to give the private, as well as the public life, of the perſon whoſe actions he records; nay, it is from private life, from familiar, domeſtic, and ſeemingly trivial occurrences, that we often receive moſt light into the real character. In this ſpecies of Writing, Plutarch has no ſmall merit; and to him we ſtand indebted for much of the knowledge that we poſſeſs, concerning ſeveral of the moſt eminent

perſonages

LECT. XXXVI. perſonages of antiquity. His matter is, indeed, better than his manner; as he cannot lay claim to any peculiar beauty or elegance. His judgment too, and his accuracy, have ſometimes been taxed; but whatever defects of this kind he may be liable to, his Lives of Eminent Men will always be conſidered as a valuable treaſure of inſtruction. He is remarkable for being one of the moſt humane Writers of all antiquity; leſs dazzled than many of them are, with the exploits of valour and ambition; and fond of diſplaying his great men to us, in the more gentle lights of retirement and private life.

I CANNOT conclude the ſubject of Hiſtory, without taking notice of a very great improvement which has, of late years, begun to be introduced into Hiſtorical Compoſition; I mean, a more particular attention than was formerly given to laws, cuſtoms, commerce, religion, literature, and every other thing that tends to ſhow the ſpirit and genius of nations. It is now underſtood to be the buſineſs of an able Hiſtorian to exhibit manners, as well as facts and events; and aſſuredly, whatever diſplays the ſtate and life of mankind, in different periods, and illuſtrates the progreſs of the human mind, is more uſeful and intereſting than the detail of ſieges and battles. The perſon, to whom we are moſt indebted for the introduction of this improvement into Hiſtory, is the celebrated M. Voltaire, whoſe genius has ſhone with ſuch ſurpriſing luſtre, in ſo many different parts of literature. His Age of Louis XIV. was one of the firſt great productions in this taſte; and ſoon drew, throughout all Europe, that general attention, and received that high approbation, which ſo ingenious and eloquent a production merited. His Eſſay on the general Hiſtory of Europe, ſince

ſince the days of Charlemagne, is not to be conſidered either as a Hiſtory, or the proper Plan of an Hiſtorical Work; but only as a ſeries of obſervations on the chief events that have happened throughout ſeveral centuries, and on the changes that ſucceſſively took place in the ſpirit and manners of different nations. Though, in ſome dates and facts it may, perhaps, be inaccurate, and is tinged with thoſe particularities which unhappily diſtinguiſh Voltaire's manner of thinking on religious ſubjects, yet it contains ſo many enlarged and inſtructive views, as juſtly to merit the attention of all who either read or write the Hiſtory of thoſe ages.

LECTURE XXXVII.

PHILOSOPHICAL WRITING—DIALOGUE—EPISTOLARY WRITING—FICTITIOUS HISTORY.

As History is both a very dignified ſpecies of Compoſition, and, by the regular form which it aſſumes, falls directly under the laws of Criticiſm, I diſcourſed of it fully in the two preceding Lectures. The remaining ſpecies of Compoſition, in Proſe, afford leſs room for critical obſervation.

Philosophical Writing, for inſtance, will not lead us into any long diſcuſſion. As the profeſſed object of Philoſophy is to convey inſtruction, and as they who ſtudy it are ſuppoſed to do ſo for inſtruction, not for entertainment, the Style, the form, and dreſs, of ſuch Writings, are leſs material objects. They are objects, however, that muſt not be wholly neglected. He who attempts to inſtruct mankind, without ſtudying, at the ſame time, to engage their attention, and to intereſt them in his

his subject by his manner of exhibiting it, is not likely to prove successful. The same truths, and reasonings, delivered in a dry and cold manner, or with a proper measure of elegance and beauty, will make very different impressions on the minds of men.

It is manifest, that every Philosophical Writer must study the utmost perspicuity: and, by reflecting on what was formerly delivered on the subject of Perspicuity, with respect both to single words, and the construction of Sentences, we may be convinced that this is a study which demands considerable attention to the rules of Style and good Writing. Beyond mere perspicuity, strict accuracy and precision are required in a Philosophical Writer. He must employ no words of uncertain meaning, no loose nor indeterminate expressions; and should avoid using words which are seemingly synonymous, without carefully attending to the variation which they make upon the idea.

To be clear then and precise, is one requisite which we have a title to demand from every Philosophical Writer. He may possess this quality, and be at the same time a very dry Writer. He should therefore study some degree of embellishment, in order to render his Composition pleasing and graceful. One of the most agreeable, and one of the most useful embellishments which a Philosopher can employ, consists in illustrations taken from historical facts, and the characters of men. All moral and political subjects naturally afford scope for these; and wherever there is room for employing them, they seldom fail of producing a happy effect. They diversify the Composition;

 they

they relieve the mind from the fatigue of mere reaſoning, and at the ſame time raiſe more full conviction than any reaſonings produce: for they take Philoſophy out of the abſtract, and give weight to Speculation, by ſhewing its connection with real life, and the actions of mankind.

Philosophical Writing admits beſides of a poliſhed, a neat, and elegant Style. It admits of Metaphors, Compariſons, and all the calm Figures of Speech, by which an Author may convey his ſenſe to the underſtanding with clearneſs and force, at the ſame time that he entertains the imagination. He muſt take great care, however, that all his ornaments be of the chaſteſt kind, never partaking of the florid or the tumid; which is ſo unpardonable in a profeſſed Philoſopher, that it is much better for him to err on the ſide of naked ſimplicity, than on that of too much ornament. Some of the Antients, as Plato and Cicero, have left us Philoſophical Treatiſes compoſed with much elegance and beauty. Seneca has been long and juſtly cenſured for the affectation that appears in his Style. He is too fond of a certain brilliant and ſparkling manner; of antitheſes and quaint ſentences. It cannot be denied, at the ſame time, that he often expreſſes himſelf with much livelineſs and force; though his Style, upon the whole, is far from deſerving imitation. In Engliſh, Mr. Locke's celebrated Treatiſe on Human Underſtanding, may be pointed out as a model, on the one hand, of the greateſt clearneſs and diſtinctneſs of Philoſophical Style, with very little approach to ornament: Lord Shaftſbury's Writings on the other hand, exhibit Philoſophy dreſſed up with all the ornament which it can admit; perhaps with more than is perfectly ſuited to it.

PHILOSOPHICAL

PHILOSOPHICAL Compoſition ſometimes aſſumes a form, under which it mingles more with works of taſte, when carried on in the way of Dialogue and Converſation. Under this form the Ancients have given us ſome of their chief Philoſophical Works; and ſeveral of the Moderns have endeavoured to imitate them. Dialogue Writing may be executed in two ways, either as direct Converſation, where none but the Speakers appear, which is the method that Plato uſes; or as the recital of a Converſation, where the Author himſelf appears, and gives an account of what paſſed in diſcourſe; which is the method that Cicero generally follows. But though thoſe different methods make ſome variation in the form, yet the nature of the Compoſition is at bottom the ſame in both, and ſubject to the ſame laws.

A DIALOGUE, in one or other of theſe forms, on ſome philoſophical, moral, or critical ſubject, when it is well conducted, ſtands in a high rank among the Works of Taſte; but is much more difficult in the execution than is commonly imagined. For it requires more, than merely the introduction of different perſons ſpeaking in ſucceſſion. It ought to be a natural and ſpirited repreſentation of real converſation; exhibiting the character, and manners of the ſeveral Speakers, and ſuiting to the character of each, that peculiarity of thought and expreſſion which diſtinguiſhes him from another. A Dialogue, thus conducted, gives the Reader a very agreeable entertainment; as by means of the debate going on among the perſonages, he receives a fair and full view of both ſides of the argument; and is, at the ſame time, amuſed with polite converſation, and with a diſplay of conſiſtent and well ſupported characters. An Author,

LECT. XXXVII. thor, therefore, who has genius for executing ſuch a Compoſition after this manner, has it in his power both to inſtruct and to pleaſe.

But the greateſt part of Modern Dialogue Writers have no idea of any Compoſition of this ſort; and bating the outward forms of converſation, and that one ſpeaks, and another anſwers, it is quite the ſame as if the Author ſpoke in perſon throughout the whole. He ſets up a Philotheos perhaps, and a Philatheos, or an A and a B; who, after mutual compliments, and after admiring the fineneſs of the morning or evening, and the beauty of the proſpects around them, enter into conference concerning ſome grave matter; and all that we know farther of them is, that the one perſonates the Author, a man of learning, no doubt, and of good principles; and the other is a man of ſtraw, ſet up to propoſe ſome trivial objections; over which the firſt gains a moſt entire triumph; and leaves his ſceptical antagoniſt at the end much humbled, and generally, convinced of his error. This is a very frigid and inſipid manner of writing; the more ſo, as it is an attempt toward ſomething, which we ſee the Author cannot ſupport. It is the form, without the ſpirit of converſation. The Dialogue ſerves no purpoſe, but to make awkward interruptions; and we would with more patience hear the Author continuing always to reaſon himſelf, and to remove the objections that are made to his principles, than be troubled with the unmeaning appearance of two perſons, whom we ſee to be in reality no more than one.

Among the Ancients, Plato is eminent for the beauty of his Dialogues. The ſcenery, and the circumſtances of many of them,

them, are beautifully painted. The characters of the Sophists, with whom Socrates disputed, are well drawn; a variety of personages are exhibited to us; we are introduced into a real conversation, often supported with much life and spirit, after the Socratic manner. For richness and beauty of imagination, no Philosophic Writer, Ancient or Modern, is comparable to Plato. The only fault of his imagination is, such an excess of fertility as allows it sometimes to obscure his judgment. It frequently carries him into Allegory, Fiction, Enthusiasm, and the airy regions of Mystical Theology. The Philosopher is, at times, lost in the Poet. But whether we be edified with the matter or not (and much edification he often affords), we are always entertained with the manner; and left with a strong impression of the sublimity of the Author's genius.

Cicero's Dialogues, or those recitals of conversation, which he has introduced into several of his Philosophical and Critical Works, are not so spirited, nor so characteristical, as those of Plato. Yet some, as that "De Oratore" especially, are agreeable and well supported. They show us conversation carried on among some of the principal persons of ancient Rome, with freedom, good breeding, and dignity. The Author of the elegant Dialogue, "De Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ," which is annexed sometimes to the works of Quinctilian, and sometimes to those of Tacitus, has happily imitated, perhaps has excelled Cicero, in this manner of writing.

Lucian is a Dialogue Writer of much eminence; though his subjects are seldom such as can entitle him to be ranked among Philosophical Authors. He has given the model of the light

LECT. XXXVII. light and humourous Dialogue, and has carried it to great perfection. A character of levity, and at the same time of wit and penetration, distinguish all his writings. His great object was, to expose the follies of superstition, and the pedantry of Philosophy, which prevailed in his age; and he could not have taken any more successful method for this end, than what he has employed in his Dialogues, especially in those of the Gods and of the Dead, which are full of pleasantry and Satire. In this invention of Dialogues of the Dead, he has been followed by several Modern Authors. Fontenelle, in particular, has given us Dialogues of this sort, which are sprightly and agreeable; but as for characters, whoever his personages be, they all become Frenchmen in his hands. Indeed few things in Composition are more difficult, than in the course of a Moral Dialogue to exhibit characters properly distinguished; as calm conversation furnishes none of those assistances for bringing characters into light, which the active scenes, and interesting situations of the Drama, afford. Hence few Authors are eminent for Characteristical Dialogue on grave subjects. One of the most remarkable in the English language, is a Writer of the last age, Dr. Henry More, in his Divine Dialogues, relating to the foundations of Natural Religion. Though his Style be now in some measure obsolete, and his Speakers be marked with the academic stiffness of those times, yet the Dialogue is animated by a variety of Character, and a sprightliness of Conversation, beyond what are commonly met with in Writings of this kind. Bishop Berkeley's Dialogues concerning the existence of matter, do not attempt any display of Characters; but furnish an instance of a very abstract subject, rendered clear and intelligible by means of Conversation properly managed.

LECT. XXXVII.

I PROCEED next to make ſome obſervations on Epiſtolary Writing; which poſſeſſes a kind of middle place between the ſerious and amuſing ſpecies of Compoſition. Epiſtolary Writing appears, at firſt view, to ſtretch into a very wide field. For there is no ſubject whatever, on which one may not convey his thoughts to the Public, in the form of a Letter. Lord Shaftſbury, for inſtance, Mr. Harris, and ſeveral other Writers, have choſen to give this form to philoſophical treatiſes. But this is not ſufficient to claſs ſuch treatiſes under the head of Epiſtolary Compoſition. Though they bear, in the title page, a Letter to a Friend, after the firſt addreſs, the friend diſappears, and we ſee, that it is, in truth, the Public with whom the Author correſponds. Seneca's Epiſtles are of this ſort. There is no probability that they ever paſſed in correſpondence, as real letters. They are no other than miſcellaneous diſſertations on moral ſubjects; which the Author, for his convenience, choſe to put into the epiſtolary form. Even where one writes a real letter on ſome formal topic, as of moral or religious conſolation to a perſon under diſtreſs, ſuch as Sir William Temple has written to the Counteſs of Eſſex on the death of her daughter, he is at liberty, on ſuch occaſions, to write wholly as a Divine or as a Philoſopher, and to aſſume the ſtyle and manner of one, without reprehenſion. We conſider the Author not as writing a Letter, but as compoſing a Diſcourſe, ſuited particularly to the circumſtances of ſome one perſon.

EPISTOLARY Writing becomes a diſtinct ſpecies of Compoſition, ſubject to the cognizance of Criticiſm, only or chiefly, when it is of the eaſy and familiar kind; when it is converſation carried on upon paper, between two friends at a diſtance.

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LECT. XXXVII.

Such an intercourſe, when well conducted, may be rendered very agreeable to Readers of taſte. If the ſubject of the Letters be important, they will be the more valuable. Even though there ſhould be nothing very conſiderable in the ſubject, yet if the ſpirit and turn of the correſpondence be agreeable; if they be written in a ſprightly manner, and with native grace and eaſe, they may ſtill be entertaining; more eſpecially if there be any thing to intereſt us, in the characters of thoſe who write them. Hence the curioſity which the Public has always diſcovered, concerning the letters of eminent perſons. We expect in them to diſcover ſomewhat of their real character. It is childiſh indeed to expect, that in Letters we are to find the whole heart of the Author unveiled. Concealment and diſguiſe take place, more or leſs, in all human intercourſe. But ſtill, as Letters from one friend to another make the neareſt approach to converſation, we may expect to ſee more of a character diſplayed in theſe than in other productions, which are ſtudied for public view. We pleaſe ourſelves with beholding the Writer in a ſituation which allows him to be at his eaſe, and to give vent occaſionally to the overflowings of his heart.

Much, therefore, of the merit, and the agreeableneſs of Epiſtolary Writing, will depend on its introducing us into ſome acquaintance with the Writer. There, if any where, we look for the man, not for the Author. Its firſt and fundamental requiſite is, to be natural and ſimple; for a ſtiff and laboured manner is as bad in a letter, as it is in converſation. This does not baniſh ſprightlineſs and wit. Theſe are graceful in Letters, juſt as they are in converſation; when they flow eaſily, and without being ſtudied; when employed ſo as to ſeaſon, not to cloy. One

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who, either in Converſation or in Letters, affects to ſhine and to ſparkle always, will not pleaſe long. The ſtyle of Letters ſhould not be too highly poliſhed. It ought to be neat and correct, but no more. All nicety about words, betrays ſtudy; and hence muſical periods, and appearances of number and harmony in arrangement, ſhould be carefully avoided in letters. The beſt letters, are commonly ſuch as the Authors have written with moſt facility. What the heart or the imagination dictate, always flows readily; but where there is no ſubject to warm or intereſt theſe, conſtraint appears; and hence, thoſe Letters of mere compliment, congratulation, or affected condolance, which have coſt the Authors moſt labour in compoſing, and which, for that reaſon, they perhaps conſider as their maſterpieces, never fail of being the moſt diſagreeable and inſipid to the Readers.

It ought, at the ſame time, to be remembered, that the eaſe and ſimplicity which I have recommended in Epiſtolary Correſpondence, is not to be underſtood as importing entire careleſsneſs. In writing to the moſt intimate friend, a certain degree of attention, both to the ſubject and the ſtyle, is requiſite and becoming. It is no more, than what we owe both to ourſelves, and to the friend with whom we correſpond. A ſlovenly and neglected manner of Writing, is a diſobliging mark of want of reſpect. The liberty, beſides, of writing Letters with too careleſs a hand, is apt to betray perſons into imprudence in what they write. The firſt requiſite, both in converſation and correſpondence, is to attend to all the proper decorums which our own character, and that of others, demand. An imprudent expreſſion in converſation may be forgotten and paſs away; but

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LECT. XXXVII. when we take the pen into our hand, we muſt remember, that "Litera ſcripta manet."

Pliny's Letters are one of the moſt celebrated collections which the Ancients have given us, in the epiſtolary way. They are elegant and polite; and exhibit a very pleaſing and amiable view of the Author. But, according to the vulgar phraſe, they ſmell too much of the lamp. They are too elegant and fine; and it is not eaſy to avoid thinking, that the Author is caſting an eye towards the Public, when he is appearing to write only for his friends. Nothing indeed is more difficult, than for an Author, who publiſhes his own letters, to diveſt himſelf altogether of attention to the opinion of the world in what he ſays; by which means, he becomes much leſs agreeable than a man of parts would be, if, without any conſtraint of this ſort, he were writing to his intimate friend.

Cicero's Epiſtles, though not ſo ſhowy as thoſe of Pliny, are, on ſeveral accounts, a far more valuable collection; indeed, the moſt valuable collection of Letters extant in any language. They are letters of real buſineſs, written to the greateſt men of the age, compoſed with purity and elegance, but without the leaſt affectation; and, what adds greatly to their merit, written without any intention of being publiſhed to the world. For it appears, that Cicero never kept copies of his own Letters; and we are wholly indebted to the care of his freed-man Tyro, for the large collection that was made, after his death, of thoſe which are now extant, amounting to near a thouſand *. They contain

* See his Letter to Atticus, which was written a year or two before his death, in which he tells him, in anſwer to ſome enquiries concerning his Epiſtles,

contain the most authentic materials of the history of that age; and are the last monuments which remain of Rome in its free state; the greatest part of them being written during that important crisis, when the Republic was on the point of ruin; the most interesting situation, perhaps, which is to be found in the affairs of mankind. To his intimate friends, especially to Atticus, Cicero lays open himself and his heart, with entire freedom. In the course of his correspondence with others, we are introduced into acquaintance with several of the principal personages of Rome; and it is remarkable that most of Cicero's correspondents, as well as himself, are elegant and polite Writers; which serves to heighten our idea of the taste and manners of that age.

The most distinguished collection of Letters in the English Language, is that of Mr. Pope, Dean Swift, and their friends; partly published in Mr. Pope's Works, and partly in those of Dean Swift. This Collection is, on the whole, an entertaining and agreeable one; and contains much wit and ingenuity. It is not, however, altogether free of the fault which I imputed to Pliny's Epistles, of too much study and refinement. In the variety of Letters from different persons, contained in that Collection, we find many that are written with ease, and a beautiful simplicity. Those of Dr. Arbuthnot, in particular, always deserve that praise. Dean Swift's also are unaffected; and as a proof of their being so, they exhibit his character fully, with all its defects; though it were to be wished, for the honour of

Epistles, that he had no collection of them, and that Tyro had only about seventy of them. Ad Att. 16. 5.

LECT. XXXVII. his memory, that his Epistolary Correspondence had not been drained to the dregs, by so many successive publications, as have been given to the world. Several of Lord Bolingbroke's, and of Bishop Atterbury's Letters, are masterly. The censure of writing Letters in too artificial a manner, falls heaviest on Mr. Pope himself. There is visibly more study, and less of nature and the heart in his Letters, than in those of some of his correspondents. He had formed himself on the manner of Voiture, and is too fond of writing like a wit. His Letters to Ladies are full of affectation. Even in writing to his friends, how forced an Introduction is the following of a Letter to Mr. Addison: "I "am more joyed at your return, than I should be at that of the "Sun, as much as I wish for him in this melancholy wet sea-"son; but it is his fate too, like yours, to be displeasing to "owls and obscene animals, who cannot bear his lustre." How stiff a compliment is it, which he pays to Bishop Atterbury? "Though the noise and daily bustle for the Public be now "over, I dare say, you are still tendering its welfare; as the "Sun in winter, when seeming to retire from the world, is "preparing warmth and benedictions for a better season." This sentence might be tolerated in a harangue; but is very unsuitable to the Style of one friend corresponding with another.

THE gaiety and vivacity of the French genius appear to much advantage in their Letters, and have given birth to several agreeable publications. In the last age, Balzac and Voiture were the two most celebrated Epistolary Writers. Balzac's reputation indeed soon declined, on account of his swelling periods and pompous Style. But Voiture continued long a favourite Author.

His Compoſition is extremely ſparkling; he ſhows a great deal of wit, and can trifle in the moſt entertaining manner. His only fault is, that he is too open and profeſſed a wit, to be thoroughly agreeable as a Letter Writer. The Letters of Madam de Sevignè, are now eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed model of a familiar correſpondence. They turn indeed very much upon trifles, the incidents of the day and the news of the town; and they are overloaded with extravagant compliments, and expreſſions of fondneſs, to her favourite daughter; but withal, they ſhow ſuch perpetual ſprightlineſs, they contain ſuch eaſy and varied narration, and ſo many ſtrokes of the moſt lively and beautiful painting, perfectly free from any affectation, that they are juſtly intitled to high praiſe. The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague are not unworthy of being named after thoſe of Mad. de Sevignè. They have much of the French eaſe and vivacity; and retain more the character of agreeable Epiſtolary Style, than perhaps any Letters which have appeared in the Engliſh language.

There remains to be treated of, another ſpecies of Compoſition in proſe, which comprehends a very numerous, though, in general, a very inſignificant claſs of Writings, known by the name of Romances and Novels. Theſe may, at firſt view, ſeem too inſignificant, to deſerve that any particular notice ſhould be taken of them. But I cannot be of this opinion. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, in one of his Tracts, quotes it as the ſaying of a wiſe man, that give him the making of all the ballads of a nation, he would allow any one that pleaſed to make their laws. The ſaying was founded on reflection and good ſenſe, and applies to the ſubject now before us. For any kind of Writing,

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LECT. XXXVII.

how trifling soever in appearance, that obtains a general currency, and especially that early preoccupies the imagination of the youth of both sexes, must demand particular attention. Its influence is likely to be considerable, both on the morals, and taste of a nation.

In fact, fictitious histories might be employed for very useful purposes. They furnish one of the best channels for conveying instruction, for painting human life and manners, for showing the errors into which we are betrayed by our passions, for rendering virtue amiable and vice odious. The effect of well contrived stories, towards accomplishing these purposes, is stronger than any effect that can be produced by simple and naked instruction; and hence we find, that the wisest men in all ages, have more or less employed fables and fictions, as the vehicles of knowledge. These have ever been the basis of both Epic and Dramatic Poetry. It is not, therefore, the nature of this sort of Writing considered in itself, but the faulty manner of its execution, that can expose it to any contempt. Lord Bacon takes notice of our taste for fictitious history, as a proof of the greatness and dignity of the human mind. He observes very ingeniously, that the objects of this world, and the common train of affairs which we behold going on in it, do not fill the mind, nor give it entire satisfaction. We seek for something that shall expand the mind in a greater degree: we seek for more heroic and illustrious deeds, for more diversified and surprising events, for a more splendid order of things, a more regular and just distribution of rewards and punishments than what we find here: because we meet not with these in true history, we have recourse to fictitious. We create worlds according to our fancy,

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in order to gratify our capacious desires: "Accomodando," says that great philosopher, "Rerum simulachra ad animi desideria, "non submittendo animum rebus, quod ratio facit, et histo-"ria *." Let us then, since the subject wants neither dignity nor use, make a few observations on the rise and progress of Fictitious History, and the different forms it has assumed in different countries.

In all countries we find its origin very antient. The genius of the Eastern nations, in particular, was from the earliest times much turned towards invention, and the love of fiction. Their Divinity, their Philosophy, and their Politics, were clothed in fables and parables. The Indians, the Persians, and Arabians, were all famous for their tales. The "Arabian Night's Enter-"tainments" are the production of a romantic invention, but of a rich and amusing imagination; exhibiting a singular and curious display of manners and characters, and beautified with a very humane morality. Among the ancient Greeks, we hear of the Ionian and Milesian Tales; but they are now perished, and, from any account that we have of them, appear to have been of the loose and wanton kind. Some fictitious histories yet remain, that were composed during the decline of the Roman Empire, by Apuleius, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus bishop of Trica, in the 4th century; but none of them are considerable enough to merit particular criticism.

During the dark ages, this sort of writing assumed a new and very singular form, and for a long while made a great

"* Accommodating the appearances of things to the desires of the mind, "not bringing down the mind, as history and philosophy do, to the course of "events."

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LECT. XXXVII.

figure in the world. The martial ſpirit of thoſe nations, among whom the feudal government prevailed; the eſtabliſhment of ſingle combat, as an allowed method of deciding cauſes both of juſtice and honour; the appointment of champions in the cauſe of women, who could not maintain their own rights by the ſword; together with the inſtitution of military tournaments, in which different kingdoms vied with one another, gave riſe, in thoſe times, to that marvellous ſyſtem of chivalry, which is one of the moſt ſingular appearances in the hiſtory of mankind. Upon this were founded thoſe romances of knight-errantry, which carried an ideal chivalry, to a ſtill more extravagant height than it had riſen in fact. There was diſplayed in them a new and very wonderful ſort of world, hardly bearing any reſemblance to the world in which we dwell. Not only knights ſetting forth to redreſs all manner of wrongs, but in every page magicians, dragons, and giants, invulnerable men, winged horſes, enchanted armour, and enchanted caſtles; adventures abſolutely incredible, yet ſuited to the groſs ignorance of theſe ages, and to the legends, and ſuperſtitious notions concerning magic and necromancy, which then prevailed. This merit they had, of being writings of the highly moral and heroic kind. Their knights were patterns, not of courage merely, but of religion, generoſity, courteſy, and fidelity; and the heroines were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for modeſty, delicacy, and the utmoſt dignity of manners.

THESE were the firſt compoſitions that received the name of Romances. The origin of this name is traced, by Mr. Huet the learned biſhop of Avranche, to the provençal Troubadoures, a ſort of ſtory-tellers and bards in the county of Provençe, where there

there subsisted some remains of literature and poetry. The language which prevailed in that country was a mixture of Latin and Gallic, called the Roman or Romance Language; and their stories being written in that language, hence it is said the name of Romance, which we now apply to all fictitious Composition.

THE earliest of those Romances is that which goes under the name of Turpin, the archbishop of Rheims, written in the 11th century. The subject is, the Atchievements of Charlemagne and his peers, or Paladins, in driving the Saracens out of France and part of Spain; the same subject which Ariosto has taken for his celebrated poem of Orlando Furioso, which is truly a Chivalry Romance, as extravagant as any of the rest, but partly heroic, and partly comic, embellished with the highest graces of poetry. The Romance of Turpin was followed by Amadis de Gaul, and many more of the same stamp. The Crusades both furnished new matter, and increased the spirit for such Writings; the Christians against the Saracens made the common ground-work of them; and from the 11th to the 16th century, they continued to bewitch all Europe. In Spain, where the taste for this sort of writing had been most greedily caught, the ingenious Cervantes, in the beginning of the last century, contributed greatly to explode it; and the abolition of tournaments, the prohibition of single combat, the disbelief of magic and enchantments, and the change in general of manners throughout Europe, began to give a new turn to fictitious Composition.

THEN appeared the Astræa of D'urfé, the Grand Cyrus, the Clelia and Cleopatra of Mad. Scuderi, the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney,

LECT. XXXVII.

Sidney, and other grave and ſtately Compoſitions in the ſame ſtyle. Theſe may be conſidered as forming the ſecond ſtage of Romance Writing. The heroiſm and the gallantry, the moral and virtuous turn of the chivalry romance, were ſtill preſerved; but the dragons, the necromancers, and the enchanted caſtles, were baniſhed, and ſome ſmall reſemblance to human nature was introduced. Still, however, there was too much of the marvellous in them to pleaſe an age which now aſpired to refinement. The characters were diſcerned to be ſtrained; the ſtyle to be ſwoln; the adventures incredible: the books themſelves were voluminous and tedious.

HENCE, this ſort of Compoſition ſoon aſſumed a third form, and from magnificent Heroic Romance, dwindled down to the Familiar Novel. Theſe novels, both in France and England, during the age of Lewis XIV. and King Charles II. were in general of a trifling nature, without the appearance of moral tendency, or uſeful inſtruction. Since that time, however, ſomewhat better has been attempted, and a degree of reformation introduced into the ſpirit of Novel Writing. Imitations of life and character have been made their principal object. Relations have been profeſſed to be given of the behaviour of perſons in particular intereſting ſituations, ſuch as may actually occur in life; by means of which, what is laudable or defective in character and in conduct, may be pointed out, and placed in an uſeful light. Upon this plan, the French have produced ſome compoſitions of conſiderable merit. Gil Blas, by Le Sage, is a book full of good ſenſe, and inſtructive knowledge of the world. The works of Marivaux, eſpecially his Marianne, diſcover great refinement of thought, great peneration into human